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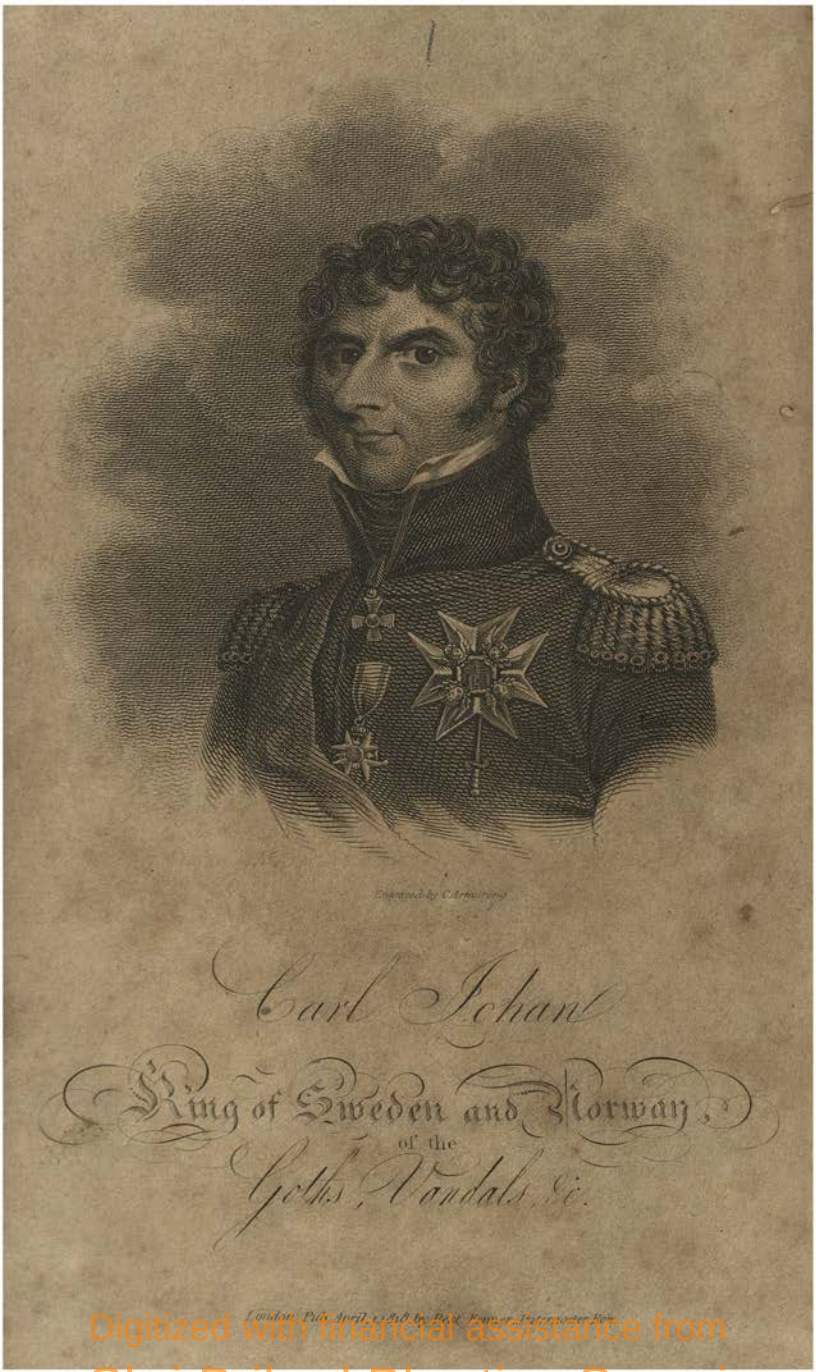


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THE

# NORTHERN COURTS;

CONTAINING

## Original Memoirs

OF THE

## SOVEREIGNS OF SWEDEN AND DENMARK,

SINCE 1766,

INCLUDING THE EXTRAORDINARY VICISSITUDES IN THE LIVES OF THE GRAND-CHILDREN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

36767
ac

BY MR. JOHN BROWN,

AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIES OF NEUTRALIZATION; THE NAVAL ADVOCATE; AND OTHER TRACTS RELATIVE TO NEUTRAL FLAGS AND THE RIGHTS OF BELLIGERENTS.

VOL. I.

*LONDON:*

PRINTED FOR ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO. EDINBURGH; AND REST FENNER, LONDON.

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# *DEDICATION.*

TO

CAPTAIN RICHARD GAINE JANVERIN, R.N.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH, without permission, I borrowed your features to draw the picture of a Post Captain *as he should be*, in the first number of my Naval Advocate, it is neither your professional capacity, intrepidity, hospitality, nor humanity, that have induced me to offer you this unequivocal mark of public homage and grateful attachment; but that proud and unbending PUBLIC SPIRIT by which you are distinguished beyond most of your equals or superiors in rank. It is that noble quality, which, in a naval officer, is far more

rare than eminent science, valor, or generosity, that consecrates the propriety of this spontaneous tribute. You resisted pretensions advanced by a commander-in-chief; you brought the validity of his claims to the test of a court of law,—actions that required greater fortitude than the most desperate attack against an enemy's ship or battery: the claim was declared to be illegal, and you emancipated the Naval Service from its longer endurance.

That you may be as prosperous as your heart is benevolent, is the ardent desire of

THE AUTHOR.

*London, 9th May,* 1818.

# PREFACE.

THE present Work was originally intended by the Author to have been a miscellany; and the sketches of the reigns of the different sovereigns were to have been given as an Appendix, made up of selections. Eleven or twelve sheets were printed ere that plan was abandoned, and an original work determined on. It was next discovered that one volume would not contain the matter that was indispensibly necessary, which was then divided into two volumes; but such was its redundancy, that the lives of the late and present kings of Sweden, and the late and present kings of Denmark, as well as some intended comments on the political opinions respecting Russia, by Mr. Leckie and Lieut.-General Sir

Robert Wilson, were necessarily omitted; they must otherwise have been reduced to the limits of an index.

In December last, a pause occurred in the execution of the work, during which, the Author endeavoured to procure, from various sources, those authentic and original facts which were essential to complete his work, and calculated to distinguish it from a mere compilation.

The Swedes are eminent for hospitality and every social virtue; and their character has been wilfully assailed, or casually misunderstood, by British tourists. In the hour of persecution, Mr. Brown found a secure and most agreeable asylum there. It was an act of duty to those whose friendship he had enjoyed to publish the criticisms on the works of *travellers in Sweden*, which appear in the second volume, not with a view to decry the general merits of the authors alluded to, but to display their local errors, and correct their too frequent acerbity.

The sources, whence he borrowed matter for

his work, are so generally given with the quotations, that he is not conscious of a single omission of importance.

From the causes recited, the life of Charles the Fourteenth John (as well as others) could not be given, but the plate is still prefixed, because the secret of his elevation is first developed in these pages, and the Author intends to translate from Swedish authorities a third volume, that shall contain the extraordinary and eventful life of that monarch.

*London, May 9th,* 1818.

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# ERRATA.

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The Author requests the reader to *dele* all references to the Appendixes—*vide* Preface; and for ogliarch to *read* oligarch, where it occurs in the translated papers, Chap. I. "Reflections on the Danish Revolution of 1660."

Page 25—line 16, for our *read* your.
104—last line, for Woff *r.* Wolff.
107, 108, and 131, for Messenin *r.* mezzanine.
109—l. 4, for eat *r.* ate.
112—l. 9, for 1776 *r.* 1771.
116—l. 13, for noblemen *r.* nobleman.
117—l. 3, for physically *r.* mentally.
118—l. 12, *r.* and abandoned.
125—l. 16, *r.* two o'clock.
130—l. 20, for second *r.* sword.
192—l. 3, note. *r* king's palace at Stockholm.
222—l. 7, *r* sat absorbed.
303—*l.* 1, for is *r.* are.
340—l. 21, for Ö-stre-Götland *r.* Östra Gothland.

# GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

## SOVEREIGNS, &c. OF SWEDEN, POLAND, AND RUSSIA, DESCENDED FROM THE FOUNDER OF THE HOUSE OF VASA.

In common with all the old patrician families of Scandinavia, that of Vasa adopted, at some very remote period, their crest, or armorial bearing, a *wheatsheaf*, as a surname, which in Swedish is called Vasa, or Wase.

1. Gustavus Ericsson Vasa, or Wase, son of Erik Johansson, governor of Åland, lord of Gripsholm, &c. was born at Lindholm, in Rotsund, near Stockholm, on the 12th of May, 1490. He married Cecilia, daughter of the Counsellor of State Mans Carlsson of Eka, half sister to the consort of Sten Sture the younger. He became Protector or Administrator of Sweden 24th August, 1521; was elected King by the Diet assembled at Strängnäs 6th June, 1523; and crowned at Upsala the 12th January, 1528, d. 1560.

Gustavus the First married 1. Catherine of Saxe Lauenburg; 2. Margaret Lejonhufwud; 3. Catherine Stenbock.

2. Erik XIV. b. 1533, deposed 1568; d. 1577; m. Catherine Mans, a peasant's daughter.

Gustavus, b. 1568, d. in Russia, 1607.

Sigrida, m. Count Tott.

3. John III. b. 1537; King, upon the deposition of Erik, 1568; d. 1592; m. 1. Catherine Jagiellon, Princess of Poland; 2. Romanda Ilyika.

4. Sigismund, b. 1566; King of Poland, 1587, of Sweden, 1599; deposed 1604; d. 1632; m. 1. Anne, daughter of the Archduke Charles; 2. her sister Constance.

John, Duke of East Gothland, b. 1589.

Christina Magdalena, m. Frederick VI. Margrave of Baden Durlach.

Albertina Frederika, m. Christian Augustus, of Holstein Eutin.

13. Adolf Frederick, b. 1701; Bishop of Lubeck, 1727; King, 1751; m. Louisa Ulrica, daughter of Frederick William, King of Prussia; d. 1771.

14. Gustavus III. b. 1746; m. 1766, Sophia Magdalena, Princess Royal of Denmark; assassinated 1792.

15. Gustavus IV. Adolphus, b. 1st November, 1778; m. to Frederika Dorothea, Princess of Baden, 31st October, 1797; declared March, 1809; dismissed 1812; resides at Basle (1818), of which town he is a free citizen.

16. Charles XIII. King of Sweden and Norway, b. 1748; m. 1774, to Hedwige, Princess of Lobe Eutin, sister to Adolf Frederick, King, 6th June, 1803; d. without issue January, 1818.

Frederick, Duke of Outra Gothland; d. at Montpellier.

Sophia Albertina, living; Jan. 1818, unmarried.

5. Charles IX. b. 1550; King, 1604, upon the deprivement of Sigismund; d. 1611; m. 1. Maria, Princess Palatine; 2. Christina, Princess of Holstein.

Catherine, b. 1584; d. 1638; m. Casimir, Prince Palatine of the Rhine.

6. Gustavus II. Adolphus,* b. 1594; m. 1620 Maria Eleonora, Princess of Brandenburg; d. 1632.

7. Christina, b. 1626; Queen 1632, abdicated 1654; d. at Rome, 1689.

8. Charles X. Duke of Deux Ponts, b. 1622; King, upon the abdication of Queen Christina, 1654; m. 1654 Hedwige Eleonora, Princess of Holstein Gottorp; d. 1660.

9. Charles XI. b. 1655; d. 1697; m. 1680 Ulrica Eleonora, daughter of Frederick III. King of Denmark.

Hedwige Sophia, b. 1681; m. Frederick, Duke of Holstein Gottorp.

12. Charles XII. b. 1682; d. 1718.

11. Ulrica Eleonora, b. 1688; Queen on the death of Charles XII.; abdicated, in favour of her Husband, Frederick, Prince of Hesse Cassel, 1731; d. 1741.

13. Frederick, b. 1676, d. 1731.

Charles Frederick, b. 1700; d. 1730; m. Anne, daughter of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia.

Charles Peter Ulric, b. 1728; m. 1733, the Princess of Anhalt Zerbst; became Emperor, Peter III. 1761; deposed and murdered 1762; his consort, Catherine II. Emperor; d. 1796.

Paul Petrovitch, b. 1754; m. 1. Natalie, Princess of Hesse Darmstadt; 2. Maria, Princess of Wirtemberg Stuttgard; Emperor, 1796; deposed and murdered 1801.

Alexander, b. December 23, 1777; m. October 9, 1793, Louisa Maria Augusta, daughter of the hereditary Prince of Baden; b. January 14, 1779; Emperor 1801.

The Grand Duke Constantine, b. 1779; m. the Princess Juliana of Saxe Coburg.†

The Grand Duchess Maria Pavlowna, m. to the Duke of Saxe Weimar.‡

The Grand Duchess Catherine, m. 1816, Frederick William, King of Wirtemberg.

The Grand Duchess Anne, m. June 1816, to William Frederick, hereditary Prince of Orange.

The Grand Duke Nicolas, b. 1792; m. 1817, the Princess Charlotte of Prussia.

The Grand Duke Michael, b. 1798.

* The sixth list of the House of Vasa united with Gustavus II. Adolphus.

† Sister to Prince Leopold, whenever, the marriage of the universally beloved and honoured Princess Charlotte of Wales.

‡ Vide Court Calendar, 1818, p. 196.

# Secret History

OF THE

## COURTS OF SWEDEN AND DENMARK.

### CHAP. I.

*Reflections on the Danish Revolution of* 1660.*

OUR historians inform us, that in the seventeenth century, the tyranny, insolence, and rapacity of the nobles had attained such a height that, to deliver themselves from the humiliating and oppressive yoke, the clergy, burgers, and peasantry surrendered to the crown all their rights and privileges; making the monarch absolute, and themselves and posterity slaves! But why do I

* This interesting portion of the *Secret History of the Courts of Sweden and Denmark* was copied and translated from a Danish MS. found on board the United States' merchantman, the Cyane Alcorn master, laden with French and Dutch colonial produce, and bound from New York to Amsterdam; detained off the coast by the Dapper gun-brig, Lieutenant Gardner commander, and sent into Plymouth, February 1807.

say *posterity!* Can the rights of the unborn to freedom be done away by the folly or baseness of their ancestors? Certainly not: and we have now a greater right to restore the freedom of Denmark, than our weak and infatuated forefathers had to lay it at the foot of Frederick the Third. Of all the stains on our annals, this is the most disgraceful. It is also one of the most extraordinary events recorded in modern history. There is no doubt but some creatures of the crown, playing upon the exasperated feelings of the burgers, persuaded them that the only effectual mode of avenging *their* wrongs consisted in making the monarchy absolute! Yet, it still seems incomprehensible how a race of men illuminated by the reformation, who were far from illiterate, well versed in their political rights, and who had recently covered *themselves with glory* in defending the metropolis, could be so completely infatuated as to act in this base and wicked manner. Their infamy is the more apparent as they were inured to war, were flushed by victory, had their weapons still in their hands, and their vile oppressors were cooped up within the walls of their city! By the same effort of mind, and at a less personal risk than it required to reduce themselves and posterity to the condition of slaves, they might have humbled the accursed ogliarchy that devoured and degraded Denmark; have stripped them of their territorial spoils, their feudal *rights*—as their tyrannies were

improperly called; and every other usurpation; and, with all facility, have elevated themselves to the rank of freemen:—while borrowing from England that representative system which our ancestors, the Goths, carried thither in their first expeditions, they might have laid the deep and broad foundations of a free commonwealth, with a constitutional king at its head: by which means Denmark would at this day have equalled England in wealth, power, and fame! The crown was at that moment elective: and the ogliarchs lorded it with equal insolence over the king and the people. If, therefore, this base conspiracy on the part of the commonalty, had been discovered by the aristocracy, time enough to have prevented its execution; the fierce, haughty, vindictive ogliarchs, would have washed out the crime meditated by the silly commoners with their blood! Not so, if they had aimed at establishing a government altogether republican; because, under that system, the nobles would not have been subjected to the king, who was before subjected to them; and it was the sole object of the burgers to reduce the nobles to a state of slavery and degradation! The heroism displayed by Frederick the Third, in defending his capital against the Swedes, had rendered him deservedly popular, whilst the nobles were detested on account of the disaffection, if not cowardice, that many of them had displayed in the unfortunate wars with Sweden. The king, to secure his

crown from the power of the nobles, would no doubt, have readily entered into the views of the people; and have ratified their freedom in return for their rendering the crown hereditary, and independent of the ogliarchy. Instead of acting thus nobly and wisely,—with a frantic hand they tore the laurels from their brows, and surrendered unconditionally and without any equivalent—for what is there equivalent to such a sacrifice? their lives, their liberty, property, honor, to the king: investing him and his heirs male for ever with the uncontrolled power to wage war, negotiate peace, to cede provinces, levy taxes, expend treasures, spill the blood of his people by unnecessary wars,—by the axe of the executioner; and plunge them into solitary dungeons, there to rot in darkness, without the king or his ministers being accountable *to any human being!* Stupendous folly and wickedness! I blush as I write, at the degeneracy of my ancestors. This vile, polluting, and degrading revolution was brought about by a few of the leading burgers in Copenhagen, backed by the blind confidence and heated passions of the lowest classes, and aided by the secret influence, the gold, and the power of the crown. The blow was struck; the liberties of the *Danes*, existent, or to be born, were clandestinely surrendered; and the crown elevated on the ruins of liberty, ere the great mass of the people knew that the dire expedient was in agitation! In a delirium of joy the burgers of

Copenhagen sung 'Io Pœans,' that the tyranny of the nobles was no more.' Silly wretches! A short time taught them that the crown, to prevent the enraged ogliarchs from calling in the Swedes, made a compromise, and left that obnoxious class of privileged men all their territorial domains, however acquired; all their feudal claims and exactions. They could no longer dictate to the king, but each could play the petty tyrant on his own estates, and spread desolation and misery among their unhappy dependants, who were still left subjected to their insolence and power. A short time opened the eyes of the infatuated burgers, but the mischief was done; and a *standing army* protected the throne which the stupid burgers had made absolute, and rendered their regrets and remorse alike unavailing.

Our historians in vain endeavour to palliate this act of political suicide. Amongst innumerable attempts to extenuate its infamy, they pretend that so transcendently great were the merits of Frederick the Third, that the nation had *no other means* of affording him an adequate proof of its gratitude and devotion! Silly casuistry! Contemptible sophists! What individual had so much to lose as the king? Certainly no one; and consequently no one had a stimulant equally strong to propel him to great exertions. His wisdom, fortitude, valour, were admitted and admired by friend and foe; by the Swede and by the Dane. He preserved his throne and his metropolis.

The glory of the achievement, and the love and praise of his people, and of posterity, offered the only recompense to which he ought to have aspired.

The same historians*, as an excuse for this sad monument of popular frenzy and delinquency, tell us that the nobles were corrupt, tyrannical and oppressive; that, in their legislative capacity, they levied enormous burthens on the labouring hind, and the industrious citizens, from which those drones not merely remained exempted; but contrived, in their capacity as generals, governors, or ministers, to intercept a large proportion of those taxes wrung from the hard hand of the toil-wörn, sinewy labourer, and his half-famished family. Our time serving *historians* assert, that this foul ogliarchy (to get rid of which moral pestilence our liberties were all destroyed) with one hand oppressed and controlled the crown, obtruding their creatures and partisans into all places of high trust and great emolument; whilst, with the other they scourged, debased, plundered, and enslaved the people. This venal class of privileged men, met with mockery and contempt the remonstrance and petitions of the commonalty; insolently denying the truth of self-evident grievances; and not merely denying them redress, and adding insult to their wrongs, but visiting them with still heavier burthens, and

* Holberg, &c.

laying them under more humiliating restraints! Hence, our *courtly historians* infer, that there remained no other way of getting rid of those accursed devourers, than by making the crown of Denmark arbitrary and hereditary. The people, from one extremity of the Danish dominions to the other, should have destroyed the power of those despicable and cruel ogliarchs; levelled their moated and turreted castles with the earth; and set the bondsman free: thus should they have got rid of that ogliarchy which, like a huge and loathsome wen on the human body, impaired its strength and disfigured its beauty. Instead of which, surely in a moment of general madness, to gratify an absurd spirit of vengeance, the citizens of Copenhagen established—*despotism by law!* That their posterity have not suffered by the folly and delinquency of their ancestors in an equal degree with those unhappy nations whose harder destiny bowed their necks to a Bourbon yoke, has arisen from the superior quality of our princes, who, since this scandalous revolution, have ruled Denmark and its dependencies. Possessing unlimited sovereignty in the fullest and most ample meaning of the term, it redounds to the glory of our autocrats; for such are our kings, as well as the czars of Russia, that they have *permitted* us to be governed by law, instead of a *ukase;* that they have allowed us the liberty of discoursing or writing with freedom on political subjects, instead of shedding our blood on scaffolds; or, a la

Bourbon, throwing us into lonesome cells, and there leaving us to perish. But this clemency, so honourable to our illustrious kings, has the dangerous tendency of rendering despotism less odious, less frightful, less disgusting, than it appears when hung round by chains and implements of torture; by *letters de cachet* and Bastilles, which decorated the splendid despotisms of the Bourbons, ere their merited fall and eternal banishment from France. It is to the *mercy* of our kings, and not to the *prudence* of our ancestors, that we are indebted for an exemption from most of the evils attendant on despotism. The example of justice and moderation afforded by our mild monarchs, each of whom, had he been a Nero in heart, might, like Nero, have wallowed in the blood of the most illustrious citizens, goes a considerable length towards establishing the justice of Pope's dubious aphorism:—

> "*On forms of government let fools contest,*
> *Whatever's best administered, is best.*"

One of the greatest calamities that can befal any nation; one of the most certain omens of its speedy fall, is the declining state of the labouring classes on whose labour the wealth of every superior class is grounded. That degrading revolution, which calls a blush into my cheeks as I treat of its baseness, reduced the political, but not the *seigneurial*, power of our nobles—was fatal to our poor hinds; for the monarchs, assuming a degree of pomp unknown to their *electoral*

predecessors, fearful of offending the wealthy burghers, increased the burthens of the agriculturists, and the weight of this cumbrous pomp fell principally on the labouring peasant. The nobleman, driven from the court and the treasury, forced into an involuntary rustication, sought, by increasing his exactions in every possible way, to gain in wealth what he had lost in power; whilst our poor peasantry fared even worse than the beast of the field belonging to his lord; for having a *property* in the beast, the lord had an interest in providing it with provender and shelter from the severity of our northern winters. Not so with the poor hind! he was left to struggle with famine and taxation. His sole inheritance was ignorance and bondage. From his birth, in some squalid hovel, he has heen, till lately, exposed to privations of every kind, to humiliations of the most debasing description. If nature blessed the wife or daughter with beauty, the lust of his lord demanded its possession. In his cheerless hut reigned want and wretchedness. Filthy in his habits, base in his propensities, he exhibited the bitter fruits of aristocratical despotism in its most appalling form; and his whole life, from his cradle to his grave, was but one continual scene of wretched, and hopeless servitude.

The two greatest errors of our monarchs have been these: the too great splendor of their courts, and the too great extent of their *standing army:* that dreadful pressure and incessant drain on the

feeble resources of their country. The splendor of our court in the last reigns, and the early part of this,* illustrated the truth of that bold assertion made by a celebrated American writer, that in despotic states, and voluptuous regal courts, the mere trappings and embellishments of a monarchy cost more money, than, under a frugal system of republican government, would suffice for all the expences of the state! Yet, how few of our kings have really exercised the sovereignty conferred on them in 1660! During all the latter part of the reign of Frederick the Fifth, he was a mere automaton; governed by Count, alias *King Molckte*, or, by his ambitious consort, Juliana Maria. As to the present king (Christian the Seventh,) it was only during a very short interval that he really reigned. A Holcke, a Struensee, Juliana Maria, by turns possessed and abused the sovereignty. In short, he that wears a despotic crown is seldom the person who *exercises* the sovereign power: and after all, I am decidedly of opinion, that the President of the United States enjoys, under the sanction of the law, more real political power then any despotic prince in either of the four quarters of the globe.

*Copenhagen*, 1804. V. D.

## CHAP. II.

*Frederick the Fifth.—His Character.—The Cause of his Intemperance.—Character and Anecdotes of Juliana Maria.—Anecdotes of Christian the Seventh, when Crown Prince.*

FREDERICK the Fifth, the father of our present monarch (Christian the Seventh) was a wise, magnificent, liberal prince; the patron of men of genius, science, and learning, and the idol of a grateful people. Suddenly, a marked change took place in his habits and his manners: he lost all relish for those exalted pursuits to which he had been attached, and gave himself up to excessive and continual inebriety, whereby he impaired his faculties, physical and mental, and shortened his days. Whilst the memory of this solitary vice, that sullied his character, is generally known, the secret and powerful cause that led to this melancholy alteration, (except to a few, who, during the life-time of his second queen, dared not give it utterance; and most of whom have since descended to the grave), has remained buried in oblivion. This accomplished monarch had two consorts; the first, and

deservedly the best beloved, was the English princess Louisa, daughter of George the Second, by whom he had the wretched and imbecile prince who yet bears the title of king of Denmark; and Sophia Magdalena, married to Gustavus the Third of Sweden, who fell by the hand of Ankarstrom: for his second wife, our favorite monarch, in an evil hour, took Juliana Maria, daughter of Ferdinand Albert, duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle; an unhappy choice that was the source of many and heavy domestic calamities.

Bad passions will obtrude into palaces as well as cottages, and when they chance to obtain full possession of a queen, they are likely to hurry her to acts more atrocious than a female of humble rank, because her power to commit wickedness is so much greater. The events of common life too often exhibit the most lamentable scenes arising from the jealousy and hatred of callous and unfeeling step-mothers who oppress the children of their predecessor. Such was the character of Maria Juliana. She hated the presence of the children of the deceased queen; and, if she had dared, would have quickly sent them to follow their mother to the grave: for the propensities of her nature were mostly of a selfish and ambitious kind. At an early age, in her father's petty court, she was a great dabbler in political intrigues: in her temper sullen, cruel, and vindictive; extremely penurious; forgetful of benefits, but seldom failing to avenge an injury tenfold; above all, a most pro-

found dissembler, and able to wear a smile on her face, and shew all manner of civilities to the person most mortally hated, and whose destruction, at that very moment, she might be planning.

Such was the step-mother whom Frederick the Fifth, placed over the children of Queen Louisa! The king possessed great sensibility, and in spite of all the pretended fondness of his new consort, he soon ascertained that she did not love them. Frederick often indulged his feelings so far, as to have the children brought to him, whom he caressed with every mark of strong affection: on these occasions the crafty step-mother would participate in his affectionate regard of the innocent babes, whilst her black heart cherished the most deadly rancour. Finding herself pregnant, she flattered her ambition with the hope of presenting her lord with a new object of affection, that should not fail to wean his regards from the fair and white haired boy of Louisa, who was the king's darling. Instead, however, of a child calculated to prove a successful rival to the beautiful Christian, the cruel and envious queen brought forth a weakly, deformed, infant; whose appearance was calculated to excite commisseration mingled with disgust, rather than love. This deformed child, contrary to expectation, lived; and as its strength and size encreased, it shewed a disposition the exact reverse of Christian's; and, owing perhaps to organic defects, was cross,

sullen, and unmanageable. This was a source of sorrow to the good and humane king, and of unutterable misery to the queen, whose aversion towards Christian increased as she saw the healthy, playful, volatile boy becoming more and more the pride and hope of his fond father, who, nevertheless, did not neglect the deformed Frederick, nor fail to bestow upon him proofs of a regard truly paternal. At length, to such a pitch did that wicked woman suffer malice and envy to carry her, that, to secure the crown for her deformed son, she resolved to cut off the blooming young Christian by poison. Having determined to commit murder, she soon found, what she believed to be, a favorable opportunity. The young prince happened to be indisposed. The cruel stepmother, under the specious pretext of fondness, was frequent in her visits ere an opportunity of attempting the horrid deed presented itself. At length she found the prince's favorite nurse preparing some gruel for her young charge over a silver lamp, and there was no other attendant in the chamber. She ordered the nurse to go to her closet to fetch her something; and as soon as the door closed she approached the lamp, and instantly infused a mineral poison into the gruel, a small part of which, if it had been swallowed by her unconscious victim, would have occasioned his death. The nurse in question was named, ————————, by birth a Norwegian; and had

been many years a confidential servant of the royal family. She attended Queen Louisa, at the birth of Prince Christian; she strove to sooth the last moments of her existence, and she really felt towards her children, all the affection of a mother. Having long entertained suspicions of the queen's intentions, she was ever suspicious and watchful of Juliana Maria's proceedings that in any way affected the young prince. At the moment ——— entered the apartment, her heart fraught with murder and the poison in her hand, there might, in spite of all her circumspection and self-command, be some peculiar expression imprinted on her countenance, her eye, or tone of voice, that alarmed the worst fears of the faithful and vigilant matron, who, instead of going to the queen's apartments that were in the grand front, went only a few steps and returned softly to the door, and distinctly perceived the queen infusing something from a paper into the gruel, which she appeared to stir in the silver saucepan that contained it; which done, she then replaced it on the lamp-frame in the same position as the nurse had left it. Horror curdled the blood in the veins of the nurse, as she beheld this scene. Had the queen offered the gruel to the prince, she would have rushed in and torn it from her; but, Juliana, paced the room with a quick and hurried step,—her hands clenched together and a strong expression of suppressed misery playing on her stern features. Just then Madame ———

saw a domestic named Wolff, cross the gallery;* him she beckoned to come near, and in a whisper told him to go to Count Molckte, and give him a ring that she handed to him, and request his excellency to make haste to the apartment of the Crown Prince. She knew that when the count saw that token, it would not fail to fix his attention and produce immediate acquiescence. This done, she re-entered the room, her looks and manner betraying the painful emotions that filled her heart. The queen, without noticing her coming in sooner than she could, if she had gone to the front of the palace, told her to take the gruel to the prince, as it was sufficiently boiled, and would no doubt *do him good!* Every limb shook with horror as the nurse took up the saucepan:— "Why don't you go with it to the prince," said Juliana. "Pardon me, gracious queen," said the honest-hearted woman, "it is my duty to disobey you." Darting a withering look at the nurse, she exclaimed "How dare you disobey my commands?" The nurse replied not, but, as the tears streamed from her eyes, she looked significantly at the gruel, and mournfully shook her head. Thrown off her guard by passion, the queen ordered the nurse out of the room; who stood immovable as a statue, holding the saucepan in her hand. Equally torn by rage and fear, on seeing her wicked plot thus frustrated, and infamy and ruin suspended

* In the Messenin, or low wings that connected the principal fronts of this vast edifice.

over her head, like the sword of Damocles, by a single hair, the queen, ever fertile in resources, took the desperate resolution to accuse the nurse of having attempted to commit the crime she herself came to perpetrate! Sudden as lightning she acted on this diabolical impulse: and turning towards a bell, rang it furiously: a gentleman of the prince's suite entered, and beheld in silent amazement, the scene before him. "Go," said Juliana, "to M. Guldberg, and tell him to come instantly to me." The gentleman bowed and withdrew. "Now wretch," said the furious queen, her eyes flashing fire, "thou shalt feel the full weight of my vengeance; thy limbs shall be broken on the wheel for having attempted to poison the crown prince: the proofs of thy guilt are now in thine hands."

"May God forgive you, queen," said the astonished woman, "as I can pardon you for my death, if I am the humble means of saving the son of my beloved mistress." Just then Count Molckte entered the room. "Behold in that wicked woman," said the pale and passion-torn queen, "a wretch whom I have detected in the very act of administering poison to the crown prince! Call in the guards! when the king returns he will order her to be put to the severest torture, to force her to confess by whom she has been suborned to the commission of this horrible crime." The count heard the queen in respectful silence: In a grave and severe tone, he said, "I wish to

speak with your majesty alone: shall I attend your majesty in your own apartment or order Madame ——— to withdraw?" Little suspecting that this minister had long kept a watchful eye over her conduct; and was in possession of other evidence of a criminating tendency, besides that of the nurse, who stood calm and undaunted amidst this storm of guilty passion—Juliana exclaimed, "What! are you too, count, an enemy to the crown prince, and the accomplice of this trembling culprit?" "How can your majesty harbour such a thought; he coolly replied—*my son* would not succeed to the throne if the crown prince were no more." Count Molckte was a man of keen penetration, and perfectly a courtier. His looks implied more than his words: the abashed and guilty queen, awed and confounded, said, "If your excellency pleases let the woman retire." The count then took the saucepan from her hand, and the nurse went into the prince's bed-room. What passed between count Molckte and Juliana, can only be surmised: but in less than an hour he went to the prince's room, and after paying his compliments, told him that his favorite nurse must go immediately to Norway. He was so affected at the news, that clinging round her neck the fond boy said, "Then I'll go to Norway too: you shall not take away my mother." It was in vain the count strove to pacify him. "I'll apply to my father," said he in an angry tone, "I am sure he will not suffer *this mother* to be taken away

from me." The count appeared embarrassed and retired: he soon came back again, when, calling the nurse into an anti-room, he artfully strove to convince her that she had been deceived, and that the queen had merely stirred the gruel to keep it from burning. The nurse shook her head, saying, "Will your excellency allow me to carry the gruel to the prince's apothecary?—Yes." said the subtle minister, "you may." She ran for the saucepan; but found it empty and perfectly clean! More alarmed than ever, and fearful that the count had entered into the queen's hostile views against the crown prince, she secretly determined to address the king on the danger which awaited his darling boy. The insidious minister, reading in her ingenuous countenance what was passing in her mind; whilst he applauded her courage and fidelity, told her he meant to have sent her home to Norway merely to secure her from the queen's power: but he now wished her to remain, assuring her if she pledged herself by a solemn oath to secrecy, she should be safe from the effects of the queen's dislike, and remain in attendance on the crown prince; at the same time pledging himself in the most solemn manner for the perfect safety of the prince. To these terms, for the sake of continuing her attendance, the faithful nurse assented. The wicked queen, humbled and defeated, abstained from visiting the prince's apartments. The same day she was reported to be indisposed, and went the next

to Hirschholm palace. But the affair did not end here: The king (Frederick the Fifth,) was then absent at a small hunting lodge called Jagersprest, situated near the palace of Charlottenborg. Thither the gentleman repaired, whom the queen had commanded to call Mr. Guldberg: he obtained an audience, and told the astonished king, not only what he had seen and heard in the antichamber of the prince—but many important circumstances besides. It is not in language to express the agonising feelings excited by this intelligence, for his own life was less dear to Frederic than that of his darling son: he applauded the conduct of his informer; and such was his haste to return to Christianborg Palace, that he fell down stairs and broke his leg. The agitation of his mind produced a fever that nearly proved fatal. As soon as his fractured limb was set, he caused the Norwegian nurse and count Molckte to be summoned before him, taking precautions to prevent any previous intercourse. The result was that he had no cause to doubt the guilt of Juliana, or that the life of the crown prince had been preserved by the courage and fidelity of his nurse, whom he liberally rewarded. From this moment he never co-habited with his guilty queen: but the thoughts of her wickedness, and the danger of his son and heir, preyed continually on his feeling mind. As a resource, a sad resource it proved, this excellent king gave himself up to drinking: and count Molckte being at once *master* of the

queen, and the favorite minister of the king, was *de facto* AUTOCRAT of Denmark, exercising the sovereign authority in the name of his master, who rapidly became but the shadow of what he had formerly been. Juliana secretly intended to make Mr. Guldberg minister, who was a man of great talent and cool judgment: but this detection foiled her plans,* and forced her to bow to the man whom she hated and feared. It was by this means count Molckte acquired that unlimited power, which, during the latter part of the reign of Frederic the Fifth, he exercised in a way so despotic as to procure him the ironical appellation of "*Koning Molckte.*" This is generally the case with AUTOCRACIES: Some *favorite* governs the

* The machinations of this envious queen against the life of Christian the Seventh, did not cease with this attempt. She strove, by gold and promises of preferment, to seduce the attendants of the child: It happened, according to Latrobe's translation, as the king and royal family were taking the recreation of sailing in a royal yacht on the coast of Zealand, near the palace of Fredensborg, (about five Danish miles north of Copenhagen,) that the young prince Christian being rather unruly, one of his attendants named Brocdorph, seized the boy, held him over the stern of the yacht, and threatened to throw him in the water: from the boy's struggles to get free, or from treachery, down he fell into the sea, whence he was rescued; but, as long as reason held its seat, the prince imputed this act to the agency of his fell step-mother, with a view to procure the crown for her beloved son Frederic. So far the anonymous author; and what in some respect corroborated this opinion, Brocdorph being forbid to appear in the prince's presence, was immediately engaged in the service of the step queen, and placed as an officer in her palace. EDITOR.

AUTOCRAT, who thereby governs the state, frequently reducing the autocrat himself to a mere cipher. Few indeed have been the number of absolute monarchs, who were not themselves as far from being free as the meanest of their slaves. But, to quit this digression: though the mind of the mild and benevolent monarch, Frederic the Fifth, was thus clouded, he was never happy except the crown prince was in his presence. As he grew in years, Christian became more and more the favorite of the king and people. In the wildest sallies of his father, the prince had more command over him than any other person; and he often had influence enough to prevent him, when tipsy, from lavishing away his treasures on the companions of his cups; and even of inducing him to retract those improvident gifts when sober.

In one of these fits, the king made count Molckte a present of the magnificent palace of Hirschholm* and all its costly furniture! The crown prince, hearing of this lavish act, went to his study, and taking in his hand a plan of the palace, carried it to count Molckte, saying, "Content yourself with this, I beseech your excellency, and believe me, unless you possess the crown, the palace of Hirschholm shall never be your's."

On another occasion the king desired prince Christian to fill the glasses for himself and the count. The prince coloured and hesitated. The

* The Isle of Stags.

king repeated his commands, telling him to fill for himself also. Upon which the spirited youth first filled to the brim the glass that stood before the count; the king's glass only half full, and in his own he scarcely poured any wine. "Hey day! What do you mean by this, Christian?" said the king—"I mean sire, said he, to denote hereby our relative consequence in the state Count Molckte being *king* and minister, I filled the glass commensurate with his authority. You, my father, being the *next* person in the state to the count, I half filled your glass: as for myself, being of no consequence whatever, I took *no* wine." Weakened and obscured as were the intellects of the king, he pressed his son to his bosom, and a tear glistened in his eye at the reproof thus conveyed. It was, however, only a momentary impression. He still continued his career, till nature, vanquished by his excesses, and not worn out by time—could endure no more. He died in the year 1766, in the 46th year of his age and the 23d of his reign. The crown prince Christian, whom Juliana Maria hated, and would fain have murdered, was then proclaimed king by the name of Christian the Seventh. Seldom was the dawn of any reign more auspicious than his: He was young, handsome, affable and generous, and the idol of the people. This event knocked the stage from under *king* Molckte, and the sovereign power was, for a short time, really exercised by him that wore the crown.

## CHAP. III.

*Character and the person of Christian the Seventh.—Demoralized by his cruel step-mother.—Portrait of Caroline Matilda at fifteen years of age.—Reflections on, and instances of the unhappiness of royal females.—Secret memoirs of Gustavus the Third, and his queen.—The Princess Albertina.—Unhappy love.—An extraordinary expedient, its detection.—The secret history of the birth of Gustavus Adolphus the Fourth, now count Gottorp.*

THE person of the young king, though considerably under the middle height, was finely proportioned; light and compact, but yet possessing a considerable degree of agility and strength. His complexion, remarkably fair; his features, if not handsome, were regular; his eyes blue, lively and expressive; his hair very light: he had a good forehead and aquiline nose; a handsome mouth and fine set of teeth. He was elegant rather than magnificent in his dress; courteous in his manners, of a very amorous constitution: warm and irritable in his temper; but his anger, if soon excited, was easily appeased: and he was generous to profusion. Such was the person and disposition of Christian the Seventh when he ascended the throne of Denmark.

The reigning Queen, Juliana, failing in her attempts to take the life of the heir-apparent, adopted a method scarcely less cruel to effect the destruction of this young and thoughtless prince. It was her influence that, during his father's life time, opened the doors of the palace, and connived at his nocturnal sallies to the haunts of lewd women. It was Juliana, through the agency of M. Guldberg, who surrounded him with a crowd of voluptuous and gay young courtiers, in whose society his morals were corrupted, and his constitution undermined. In some of his wild sallies he beat waiters, broke glasses and furniture, attacked watchmen, and more than once was actually taken into custody. These traits resemble the youthful follies of our favorite hero, Henry the Fifth: and like him, Christian might have been an hero and a conqueror, if he had had similar means and opportunities, and had not been betrayed into all manner of precocious excesses by those, whose duty it was to have watched, admonished, and protected him.

Being so completely a libertine as to women, he would not, if left to himself, have thought of marrying so soon, if at all. A consciousness of the evil designs of the Queen Dowager, and a desire to counteract them, rather than any sense of public duty, induced the young and giddy monarch to listen to those, who advised him to strengthen his throne by an alliance with his fair young cousin Matilda, sister to the King of

England. He consented: negotiations were opened, and the Princess Matilda became Queen of Denmark.

Caroline Matilda was the youngest child of Frederic Prince of Wales, and as well as her husband, a grand-child of George the Second. She was very tall, of a majestic, rather than elegant make; and a very pleasing, rather than a beautiful countenance. Her complexion was uncommonly fine—she might, without flattery, have been termed the fairest of the fair. Her hair was very light flaxen, almost as white as silver, and of luxuriant growth: her eyes, light blue, clear, large, and expressive: her lips, particularly the under lip, full and pouting; her teeth white and regular. Even at this early age, Matilda was much inclined to what the Fren chcall *en bon point.* Her education had been carefully attended to; her temper was generally mild and gentle, though sometimes rather quick; her demeanour towards the lower and middle classes, full of condescension; towards the supercilious Queen Dowager, Matilda soon displayed traits of that impetuous and haughty turn that is said to be characteristic of the Gwelphs. She was neither profuse nor generous, but her extreme youth, her freshness, and apparent good humour, endeared her to every liberal mind. I saw this ill-fated princess when she first set her foot on the soil of Denmark. I did not join in the shouts of the multitude; but I was charmed with her appearance. Every thing she saw was gran

deur and festivity: she was received like a divinity, and almost worshipped, at least by those of the masculine gender. Her animated, beauteous features, her fine blue eyes, beamed with delight on all around her. How kind it was of fate, to shut from her view the dreadful reverse, that soon snatched the diadem from her brows; her infants from her bosom, and sent her forth from Denmark repudiated, into perpetual exile!

That youth must have been a stoic, whose heart, if not devoted to some prior object, would not have been enslaved by this fair foreigner; who was but little more than fifteen years of age at this period. She had not done growing, and though a woman in stature, was a mere child in point of judgment. As to the prince destined to be her husband, though a youth under his twentieth year, he was older in constitution than many a hale man of threescore; and almost before he had arrived at the age of manhood, he had well nigh ceased to be a man: a circumstance that should be duly considered by all who would form a just opinion of the virtues or frailties of this unfortunate lady.

Entitled to our pity, rather than our envy, is the fate that too often awaits the daughters of royalty! Dearly do they pay, by the misery they are too often doomed to suffer, for the empty pomp that awaits them. Seldom, if ever, they enjoy the natural affection of their parents, for the loss of which no pageantry can atone.

Their mothers are not allowed, even when inclined, to nourish with their own breast their tender offspring; to press their infants with ardour to their bosom; or to perform those endearing offices dictated by nature and claimed by their helpless young. How much more happy is the wife, or the child of a peasant, when health, peace, and plenty fall to their lot! The children of kings, from the hour of their birth, are consigned to mercenary hands: they are suckled by mercenary breasts, by mothers who, for the sake of gain, rob their own child of their natural inheritance to sell it to a wealthy stranger. On such hirelings those infantine marks of affection are bestowed, that are never returned with the warmth which marks the caresses of a fond mother. As soon as their intellects admit, the royal babes are consigned to the tuition of numerous individuals, most of whom, they fear, hate or despise, and by whom their manners and habits are formed. Thus the children of kings, the daughters in particular, became a sort of artificial beings, who, having no equal, must form no tender attachment, but hold their subdued affections in a state of abeyance; debarred their natural right of reserving the heart and hand for the man they love. They may fairly be considered as the most elevated class of *royal slaves:* a sort of kingly merchandize, of which ambassadors are the salesmen: sometimes they are offered to a conqueror to appease his ire; some are bartered

away to procure political influence in a foreign court; or coveted by some cold calculating prince, as the medium whereby he hopes to gain possession of the territories to which she is heiress. Such was the case with the lovely and unfortunate ancestor of our Matilda, the princess of Zell. Though she was lovely in her person, gentle and amiable in her manners and temper, highly accomplished, and in the flower of her youth, she was yet regarded as a mere appurtenance to the duchy, and soon treated by her brutal lord with cruelty and contempt. The cowardly assassination of Count Konigsmark*, and the incarceration of this injured princess, are subjects too well known to need repetition†.

* See Appendix I.

† "The Electoral prince had, for some time, not only deserted her entirely, but corresponded with his mistress* openly, of which her royal highness not only complained to the elector and electress, though without effect, but enlarged upon the affront offered to her, in pretty severe terms to the prince himself, who, instead of using the least address to mollify her, gave into such a transport of rage that, utterly forgetful both of her sex and quality, he fiercely seized the princess by the throat, then pregnant, and near her time!

* This celebrated woman afterwards figured in England as *Duchess of Kendal*: for an account of her practices in the *sale of places* and *titles*, see Appendix, consisting of extracts from the Memoirs and secret Negotiations of John Ker, of Kersland, Esq. 2 vol. printed, London, 1726, which work treats largely of this mercenary female adventurer. Mr. Ker, of Kersland, had been highly instrumental in promoting the Hanoverian succession; he was a Scotchman, and to gain the favour of the house of Hanover even during Queen Anne's reign, he betrayed the interests of his own country. He was promised a place, but because he would not give a large doucœur to the German agent of this German Anglo duchess, he was disappointed, and thereby totally ruined. Mr. Ker exposed the venality of this wholesale trafficker in politics, &c., and she caused him to be prosecuted *ex officio*. The once favoured instrument, now no longer needful, was suffered to pine in the King's Bench, borne down by her baleful influence, where he died poor, deserted, and broken-hearted, in July, 1726.

To a female of real delicacy, what can be conceived more revolting to modesty than to form a union, with a man whom, till that moment, her eyes never beheld? How tremendous is the risk she runs, that her peace of mind shall cease with her celibacy. Obedient to the call of the ogliarchs of Sweden, Gustavus the Third, then crown prince, married in 1766, the princess royal of Denmark, Sophia Magdalena*. She too was a fine young woman, such as the epicurean debauchee would make almost any sacrifice to obtain. What a singular destiny was her's! Betrothed to one of the most elegant and accomplished princes of Europe, then in the bloom of youth; she was received by him with confusion and restraint; during many years, this restraint continued, and neglect and insult followed. I have often seen her at the Swedish court, when she lived in compulsive retirement as crown princess, and afterwards when she was queen of Sweden. In spite of all her efforts to dress her face in smiles, whilst her heart was a prey to misery,

The whole palace immediately took the alarm, and every body that durst rushed in to prevent further mischief; notwithstanding which, the prince was so lost in passion, as publicly to avow, that henceforward she was to consider him as her mortal enemy; but his threats were not heard by her to whom they were addressed, grief and terror had oppressed her so strongly, that she fainted in the arms of those who had come to her relief, and in that condition she was removed to her apartment." See Appendix (A.)

* See Appendix 3.

I saw that she was unhappy; and falling into the prejudice of the day, I imputed her sorrows to the moroseness of the queen mother. I became acquainted with her confidant, Madame ———. I was then young and chivalrous, and beloved by this lady. Master of her entire affections, it will not be deemed surprising if I also became master of many particulars respecting her royal mistress, that in strict honour, ought not to have been revealed, the strange nature of which excited in my bosom sorrow, pity, disgust, and indignation! Neglected and despised by the creature called her *husband*,—borne down by the austerity of that great and inflexible woman, Louisa Ulrica, the sister of Frederick the Great, and consort to the mild and benevolent monarch Adolf Frederick, our princess found herself, in the flower of her youth,—a wife, without a husband,—without peace, and without hope! Being a Dane, though of humble rank, my steps were watched with jealous caution: the unguarded conversations of Count Ulric Scheffer enabled me to see my danger. I was romantic enough, to endeavour to persuade Madame ——— to prevail on my fair neglected countrywoman to imitate the conduct of the Queen Dowager Maria Eleonora*, widow of Gus-

* This princess was the daughter of John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, born the 11th November, 1599, married to Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the 25th November, 1620, and crowned the 28th of the same month. Their only child, Christina, succeeded her illustrious father on the throne of Sweden, who

tavus Adolphus, and mother of that heroine Queen, Christina. I scarcely need say, that my council was not followed. Madame ——— said to me reproachfully,—" What! would you take our princess from the open enmity of a great and magnanimous woman like Louisa Ulrica, to place her

was killed in the battle of Lutzen, or treacherously murdered, as others suppose, on the 6th November, 1632. Thus was Maria Eleonora born, married, crowned, and widowed, in the month of *November:* she survived her daughter's abdication only nine months, dying the 18th March, 1655, and was buried near her husband in the Gustavian sepulchre in Ridderholm church, Stockholm. The following narration of this extraordinary flight is translated from Carl Frederick Ljungman's description of Gripsholm Castle, printed in Stockholm, 1790, p. 16, &c. from which compilation it appears that this curious record was originally written in German in Apelblad's description of Saxony, page 47, *viz.*

The queen dowager Maria Eleonora, on the 23d July, went secretly away from Gripsholm Castle, and on the 25th embarked on ship-board near Trosa, a small bay ten leagues from Sodertelje. The government being informed on the 29th of what had happened, dispatched messengers after the queen in five different directions, but in vain. On Thursday the burgomaster of Calmar arrived, (at Upsala) who informed the government that, in an unfrequented bay, he had seen a vessel lying at an anchor, and a man walking on the deck who had a pistol on each side of him. As soon as the regency had this intelligence communicated to them, they immediately dispatched a messenger to Trosa to inquire into matters. Upon his arrival he found affairs as they had been represented, and he returned with tidings of her conduct in effecting her escape. It seems that two years preceding this elopement, the queen dowager had attempted to effect her escape from Gottenburg; but not being able to execute her project there; upon her arrival at Gripsholm Castle, she gave out that during three days in each month, she should remain

at the mercy of that fiend Juliana Maria." I was silenced. Not to proceed too far in this digression from the fate of Matilda, I shall merely state that Gustavus totally neglected his Danish bride, and indulged in propensities that my pen shall not be polluted by naming.* Suffice it to say, that she

with her waiting woman in her chamber to celebrate religious duties, during which time no one was to be admitted to her; nor would she see any one. What she required to eat and drink was ordered to be placed in her apartment to serve the whole time. Her chaplain said prayers outside her door, and this custom the queen continued till July 21st, 1640, when she said to her spiritual guide—"*My vow will shortly expire; I will double my number of days of fasting and prayer, and close therewith.*" She had sent the marshal of the palace to Stromsholm near Westeros, to make every thing ready for her reception there within ten days. As soon as he was got rid of, the queen dowager introduced six pieces of coarse wrappering into her apartment, in which she secretly packed up her valuables.

When the 23d of July arrived, she said, "*To-morrow I commence my fast and thanksgiving; therefore prepare every thing for six days that I shall have occasion for, as during that time I shall not suffer any one to see me.*"—She had already procured from Nykoping two side saddles covered with velvet for herself and her young waiting woman, which were concealed in the chamber of George Pagreln the page; and fourteen days prior to this period, the prudent queen had caused two palfreys to be turned into the park, under pretext that those nags ought to have grass, by which stratagem she avoided the risk and trouble of procuring horses from the royal stables; and with a view to promote the great object of all these preparations, she caused a covered way to be made from her chambers to the gardens, of such an extent, that she could go a con-

* See Lewis Goldsmith's Crimes of Cabinets, p. 16.

was made the scoff of those debased wretches her *husband's* favorite associates. The queen, however, kept her shame and sorrow to herself; and strove when in public, to dress her face in smiles! And so complete an adept in the practice of the most profound dissimulation was Gustavus, that when

siderable way, and which she contrived so, that no one could observe her when she walked under it: this was finished only four days previous to her last *long fast!*

The 23d. July being come, provisions and necessaries to serve for six days were carried into the queen's apartment: into which she went with a young lady named BULOWEIN, who, the preceding year, had arrived from Denmark to take service with Maria Eleanora. But at night, the covered passages concealing their movements, and the nags prepared, the one for herself and Miss Bulowein, and the other for the page George Pagreln, and a Danish painter, the party got off undiscovered, and passing by Trosa, went to a farm about two leagues distance, called Dargenge, where it was pretended that the queen dowager was the daughter of a citizen of Nykoping, and the Danish painter her lover, whose parents would not permit her to marry him, and he had prevailed on her to quit her country to go with him over sea: their horses, saddles, pistols, and riding coats they left at this farm; those were sent forward by a messenger; and on Friday the party went into a boat and proceeded six leagues, where they found a galliot, on which they went on board; and after sailing two leagues in this vessel, they reached two Danish ships of war that were waiting for them, on board of which the queen and her party went; and on Saturday, which was St. Jacob's day, the 25th of July, the ships of war sailed away.

The country people stated, that all the men who were in the boat or upon the galliot, as well as the men of war, spoke pure Danish, and that the queen shed tears in profusion when she left the farm-house at Dargenge. The Danish painter said to her in Swedish,

they met in public, which was as seldom as possible, he acted the part of a fond, nay, even an uxurious husband! Detestable hypocrite!—I have seen the arch dissembler practising those blandishments, and my blood boiled with indignation at the sight,—and that; even after he had endeavoured in vain to undermine her honor, and prevail upon her to receive a *friend of his* as her favored lover to provide an heir to his throne! and; even after he

"Do not weep, my love, tranquillize your mind: rest assured every thing will terminate happily."—The whole of her party when she embarked amounted to thirty persons. The young lady BULOWEIN left her knife and a silver sheath behind her, upon which her name was engraved at length.

On the 29th of July, the marshal of her palace, IVAR NILSON, returned from Stromsholm, and inquired what the queen dowager was about. The chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Tanck, replied, "God alone knows how that *is*: when *I* perform divine service, and prayed and sung outside *her* door; she rejoined, and sung within so as to be heard; and all who were with her inside joined chorus; but now when I sing without, I am not as usual, answered by any one within." The marshal's lady said, "My chamber is under the queen's, and I hear no one walk over head: God knows if she be sick, or how it is with her." Then they went and knocked hard at the door of the anti-room; but finding that no one answered, they broke open the door, and there stood her majesty's chests, trunks, drawers, and cabinets all open, and the keys therein, but all completely empty: she had taken all her plate, trinkets, jewels; and also the wedding state-bed, which the king her husband of glorious memory had caused to be made for her, that cost three thousand dollars; she left behind eight silver keys, and other articles of inferior value. About eight years after this event, the Queen Dowager Maria Eleonora was fetched back to Sweden in a line of battle ship,

had solemnly divorced her, and she was become the wife of Baron Muncke, no longer his queen but his subject!

But to return: Louisa Ulrica, unhappy in the secret vices of her sons, particularly Gustavus, and Duke Charles of Sodermanland * (now Charles the Thirteenth,) thought herself comparatively happy in the affectionate regards of an only daughter, the Princess Sophia Albertina. She was indeed a charming woman, and worthy a different fate! It was the lot of this lovely and amiable princess, to possess a heart full of sensibility, which, even the formalities of royalty could not extinguish. Many princely suitors, some of them sovereigns, sought her hand, but not feeling any affection for either, she nobly declared she would rather forego her rank and title, and descend from the palace to a cottage, than marry a man she could not love. Such was the propriety of her demeanor, that the

commanded by Admiral Eric Ryning. The counsellor of state, Eric Gyllenstjerna, was also sent on board the same ship with Admiral Ryning to conduct her majesty home."———

"Mr. Ekholm, in his Critical and Historical Essays relative to the History and Language of Sweden; the 3rd collection, p. 195, has introduced a narrative of this transaction:—published 1760."

The interest of this narrative is diminished by the want of explanation as to the motives which impelled the queen to adopt so extraordinary an expedient as her flight; or what induced her to return. When she fled, her daughter, Queen Christina was only fourteen years of age, consequently in her minority. *Ed.*

* See biographical sketch of Charles the Thirteenth,—Appendix 4 and 5.

tongue of calumny, which so much delights in endeavouring to sully the fame of high-born and beautiful ladies, had not even breathed upon her virgin fame. At length the day arrived that she surrendered her heart to an accomplished and virtuous foreigner who appeared at her brother's court. They were privately married, and every thing was ready for their flight: but cruel was the blow that awaited the anxious pair, her husband *suddenly expired*—expired the very day preceding that appointed for their flight; and the priest who had married them, and an old domestic who had witnessed the ceremony, were no where to be found. In an instant the unhappy princess was bereft, not only of her youthful and adored husband, but the means of proving that she was a wife. The shock nearly deprived her of life and reason; but she survived, and to complete her misery, found herself pregnant. To cut the story short: after mature deliberation, the widowed bride made a confidant of the young and amiable Duchess of Sodermanland, who advised her to conceal her pregnancy; offering to take on herself the appearance, and adopt as her's, the child with which Albertina was teeming. The plan was acceded to; the pregnancy of the young duchess was officially announced, and public thanksgivings ordered in the churches of Sweden.* The cannon are said to have been loaded that were intended to

* Vide Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden, vol. I. p. 7.

celebrate her happy delivery, when an event took place that spoiled the well conducted project of the two exalted females, and, according to the author of the work just alluded to*, "*put the king as well as the duke out of humour*"—expressions that strongly corroborate the conjecture that, whoever was the father of the expected infant, the king and the duke were both privy to the intended adoption of Albertina's child. The immediate cause of its failure was, that the queen dowager ("*and thereto hangs a tale*" full of the marvellous,) suspected the reality of the assumed pregnancy. Knowing that the duke could not have been its cause, and believing the duchess to be a virtuous women, she guessed at the fraud, and its object, that was already so far advanced. Louisa Ulrica was bold, firm, open, and decisive in her conduct and resolves. Without regard to private feelings, she was bent on defeating this project, which she threatened to expose. Despotic as he was, Gustavus could not avert the blow. The Friherre Benzelstjerna, one of the secretaries of state, was the bearer of the queen dowager's stern message to the young and playful duchess, which could not be parried. "Well!" said she, "if it is not at present, it may occur hereafter,"—and the same day it was announced, that the duchess had, from inexperience, mistaken her situation, and been deceived by '*a false conception!*'

* Vide Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden, vol. i. p. 7.

—Meantime the princess Albertina was secretly delivered of a fine female child, which, reared as the posthumous daughter of a burger of Stockholm, under the protection of its accomplished and amiable mother, is known in the court of the princess, as Miss F————: Whilst these stratagems were formed, and frustrated; year after year rolled away, and still Sophia Magdalena remained a '*mourning bride.*' Though commanded by the king to hold levees and receive the nobility; though gratified with splendid dresses, and attended with the utmost pomp whenever she went out from her palaces, there was still a vacuum in the heart, that neither power nor pageantry could supply! She had been *eleven years* the wife of a man, who had never yet consummated his marriage! But this strange story runs away with me;—I am losing sight of the lovely Matilda, and the reflections into which her melancholy destiny hurried me, and describing events too minutely for a sketch like this. Suffice it therefore to say, that the false and perjured king, finding that an heir was necessary to give stability to the government he had formed, adopted the extraordinary expedient of proposing to his wife that she should admit his bosom friend Major Muncke—to her bed!!!—Such is the odious complexion of this assertion, that those happy people that have been reared where the decencies of life are more prized than its luxuries, will spurn this as a base and foul aspersion on the memory of Gustavus the Third. But this is not the case,

and I have as much belief in its truth, as in the truth of the assassination of that splendid and depraved monarch.

When the graceful Abelard wooed the lovely and yielding Elosia, the suit of that eloquent lover could not be urged with more ardour, than this strange mortal sued for his own dishonour. With tears suborned, and sighs that seemed to rise from a heart oppressed with grief and shame, he confessed that *physical inability* alone had kept him from her bed; and to bring her the readier over to his vile ends, he insinuated that his own mother was the wilful source of his misfortune. Although it is hard to believe he was not privy to the expedient that was frustrated by the masculine firmness of his mother; the insidious king imputed it to the ambition of the Duke and Duchess of Sodermanland, and strove hard to impress her with the belief that the stability of his throne depended on her consent. He offered her a '*letter of licence*,' and to be sworn to eternal secrecy. The queen, however, knew the dissembler too well to trust her honor in his keeping. Covered with blushes, trembling from the force of conflicting passions, almost unable to speak, and not daring to trust herself to look at the recreant king, she made signs for him to retire and afford her time to recal her agitated spirits. When next they met, the queen mustered courage to tell him, that having duly considered of his extraordinary proposal, she thought he ought first to divorce her,

and then marry her to Major Muncke, adding, if his majesty pleased so to do, she was willing to meet his wishes; if not, the religious and moral principles in which she had been reared, and of which she had never lost sight, would for ever prevent her acceding upon any other terms. The king, unable to move her from these terms, yielded with a good grace. To give a color to the *reconciliation* of this singular pair, it was given out that whilst the king was in Finland, by means of a young minion named *Rosenstein*, he discovered that his queen, whom he had accused of being deficient in love and tenderness, was the reverse of all this, and distractedly fond of her *beloved* Gustavus. My fair countrywoman, Madame ————, who was paid sufficiently well to console her for the execrations of a people she never liked, or intended to see again; was accused, and pleaded guilty to the charge of having falsely *transcribed* the queen's letters, of omitting all the *tender sentences* they contained, and foisting upon the generous and deceived monarch her own base language.* In short, the lawyers and parsons made quick work of the

A narrative of this fabrication will be found at length in Appendix (3). About 1811, a work was printed in Paternoster Row, entitled, "Letters of the Swedish Court," grounded altogether upon this fable, and copied from Ristel's work. The *bookmaker* modestly pretended this little volume was translated from the original letters, but were, by some wonderful chance, thrown into his hands by the revolution in Sweden of 1809. *Editor.*

divorce; and on that day, when the good people of Stockholm were invited to meet the king and queen in Riddarlolm church, to return to God *their* solemn thanks for this happy reconciliation; on that day, and in that church, in the royal pew, the ex-queen who had been legally divorced, was solemnly married to Major Muncke. The most brilliant festivities followed; and, from this pseudo marriage that extraordinary being, Gustavus the Fourth, Adolphus, owes his existence.*

Such † has been the fate of the sister of Christian, our imbecile king. She is yet acknowledged

* See Appendix, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, for sketches of the life and reign of Gustavus the Fourth, Adolphus.

† This circumstance is well known to the principal statesmen of Europe, and was the *real cause* of his abdication in 1809.

As a lasting monument of his friendship and affection for Major Muncke, the king gave the name of *Muncken's Backen* (Muncke's hill) to a huge mass of naked granite, that was left in its pristine state when the costly garden at Drottningholm was constructed. The space of ground was covered with huge rocks, on a barren unwholesome morass. The rocks of granite were blown up; the morass, at an enormous expence, was underdrained; and the surface, made smooth and level, was covered with a fine vegetable soil. To denote its native wildness, one hideous mass lifted its naked head in this wilderness of sweet flowers and shrubs. It was a good idea, and had a fine effect. Soon after the birth of the pseudo crown prince, now Count Gottorp, late Gustavus the Fourth, this rock was wholly covered with earth, and made into a regular circular eminence, covered with green sward and planted on basket beds with shrubs and flowers. Upon its crest, on a fine pedestal of Swedish

as queen of Sweden. What is become of Muncke I know not. It is reasonable to suppose, that he stood bound by the strongest obligations never to claim the privileges of a husband, after the purpose was answered for which he was appointed; and that he was not, in any way, to

granite, stands a groupe in carrara marble, large as life, representing Gustavus the Third, and his friend Muncke in the characters of Castor and Pollux. This piece of statuary (that is not to be compared with Sergel's or Canova's works,) was executed in Italy, having been ordered by the king in 1783, when on his travels in that country. The figure to the right was intended for the king; that to the left, for Muncke. The savage rock, once naked and unproductive, now decorated by flowers and shrubs, and shaded by beautiful trees, were perhaps intended as symbols, first of the queen's sterility, and next of her fruitfulness, when committed to the hands of Count Muncke.

A third source of strong corroborating evidence exists in the mysterious 'IRON CHEST,' mentioned by Sir John Carr and other northern travellers, that is preserved in a room belonging to the library of the University of Upsala, whether *inviolately*, after the revolution of 1809 may be questioned. The contents of this chest is known to few who are now living, (except it has been opened as before observed.) Sir John Carr, with his usual sagacity, says, "Conjecture and expectation frequently hover *over this case*, which will one day unfold to Sweden much interesting memoir and literary treasure." It would be presumption to speak too decidedly on so doubtful a point, but my opinion is grounded on that of the patriots of Sweden who effected the revolution of 1809, which drove a weak and imbecile tyrant from his throne: i. e. that *this chest contains the secret history of the birth of that prince.* The chest was ordered to be kept unopened till half a century had expired; and there is no proof that even then, it was directed that its secret should be made public. The chest is large; has three locks

divulge to the children whom the queen might have by him, that Gustavus the Third, was not their sire! nor, in the event of the king's death, ever to claim his supposed widow. All these very hard conditions he probably fulfilled. I believe that Muncke is a Finlander by birth; and I have heard that he is now residing there on an estate bestowed upon him by Gustavus the Third. Other accounts say that he has been assassinated; which of these accounts be the truth, or if either account be correct, I am unable to determine. As to the personal character of this pseudo son of Gustavus, he is said to possess no great nor splendid quality; but, on the contrary, to be stubborn, penurious, and mean in his disposition; irritable in his temper, and a complete bigot in matters of religion*.

and keys, and was sealed by the present king when he was appointed regent;—by the University great seal; and by the Ryks Drotts or Lord Chancellor of Sweden. The keys were deposited, one with the sovereign for the time being; one with the Ryks Drotts or lord chancellor, and the third with the University of Upsala. So many formalities and precautions would scarcely have been taken to preserve the royal manuscripts; if they were merely of a literary nature. *Editor.*

* An interesting account of the visit of the regent and pseudo sovereign of Sweden to the court of the late empress Catherine the Second, will be found in Appendix 6. Messrs. Massons, from whose volume it is transcribed, have recorded the facility with which this young king put the greatest public affront on Catherine that she ever sustained, in rejecting her fair and youthful grand-daughter, when the court was assembled in grand gala, and the bride was waiting him at the altar; and this upon a point of reli-

But to return to our Danish queen Matilda. That atrocious woman Juliana Maria failing in her hellish projects against the life of her royal step-son, the crafty, cruel, and unrelenting woman insidiously and but too successfully endeavoured to enfeeble both his mind and body; thereby to render him not only unfit to rule a nation, but physically unable to leave an heir, of his own begetting, to the crown of Denmark. A mode of destruction more cruel than any of her former attempts to destroy the unfortunate prince in his days of childhood and adolescence. I have read, in the interesting letters of the Countess d'Aunoy, that the *mother* of Charles the Second, of Spain, wilfully and wickedly destroyed the intellectual and physical powers of that prince, to prolong her own reign as queen regent! "The whole life of that wretched being (Charles) from his cradle

gion that was not of vital importance to either party, and was capable of arrangement. He was right in resisting the encroaching power of Catherine, but surely he might have done it in a way less offensive to her innocent grand-daughter! This affront, however, has since been too fully avenged by the triumph of Russian power, in wresting Finland from the feeble hand of Gustavus; and the present emperor Alexander, may be said to have *rejected* Frederica Dorothea, the beautiful, virtuous, and *divorced* queen of this eccentric prince; who, at an early period of her life, was, with her sister, actually sent from Baden to St. Petersburg for examination and selection! What base subserviency in the *grand duke* of Baden! It is not singular that our Danish commentator, on the unhappiness of royal females, seized on this disgusting picture of regal meanness. *Editor.*

to his grave," says the Countess d'Aunoy, "might be termed one continual malady. The formation of his mind, was of the two, more infirm than that of his body; and he was kept by the queen mother in such profound ignorance, that he knew neither the names, situation, nor the extent of the provinces and cities that composed the kingdom of Spain. When he was about fifteen years of age, he happened to exhibit some faint sparks of intellectual energy; when, alarmed at the prognostication, the wicked wretch is accused of having caused some pernicious drugs to be mixed with his chocolate, the effect of which was to stupify and debilitate the understanding." In one point, this infamous mother went beyond Juliana Maria in crime, because it *was her own child* whom she thus cruelly devoted to destruction; and in the case of the queen dowager, she was only a step-mother to the being, whose destruction she sought with unwearied perseverance, and unrelenting hatred.* After this long and tor-

Transactions black as these are by no means rare occurrences in regal courts, although, from the shackled state of the press in despotic monarchies, and the rank and power of the delinquents, they are not, as they ought to be, held up to universal obloquy and execration. The electress Dorothea, step-mother to Frederick the First of Prussia, was accused of having attempted to poison that prince; failing in which design, she strove to deprive him of his inheritance, in favour of her own son, by unjustly exciting the resentment of his father against him. The scandalous conduct of the queen of Charles the Sixth with Godoy, the *ci divant life guards-*

tuous digression, I shall once more return to the eventful and tragical history of queen Matilda, from her arrival on our shores to her melancholy exile to Zell, where she died.

*man*, of Madrid, might be quoted as additional proofs that the possession of a regal crown is no preventive against the worst of propensities.

## CHAP. IV.

*Matilda's Reception in Denmark.—The Machinations of Juliana Maria.—Weakness and Depravity of Christian the Seventh.—His Motive for setting out on his Travels.—His Adventures in Amsterdam and London.*

It was neither the powerful connexions, the high lineage, nor the ample dowry which this young and interesting princess brought to my country that commanded universal admiration and esteem, but her youth, her innocence, her beauty, and her modest, retiring, graceful demeanour, that fascinated all who saw her. The venerable mother of Frederick the Fifth* could not suppress emotions tainted by envy on beholding the lovely girl; but the enmity of Sophia Magdalena was harmless, compared to the intense malice that glowed in the bosom of Juliana, whose heart was torn by hatred, jealousy, and disappointed ambition at the moment when, with well dissembled smiles, and flattering blandishments, she hailed Matilda as the consort of

* Sophia Magdalena, consort to Christian the Sixth, was then 66 years of age. Juliana Maria was in her 38th year.

Christian the Seventh. This task, however painful, she performed in her best style, and if her malice had not been as much a matter of notoriety, as her ambition, Matilda might have believed she should find an affectionate friend, a second mother in, Juliana Maria; to whose odious machinations the vices of the young monarch were principally owing. This cruel step-mother artfully masked her own ambitious desire of reigning, under the plausible pretext of regard to the welfare of her son. But Juliana's known qualities forbid the belief that it was for his sake she meditated and committed so many black crimes. The intellectual faculties of Christian the Seventh, till eclipsed by excessive debauchery, were strong and brilliant; her son's, on the contrary, dull and feeble; hence, this artful woman knew, that if she could procure the crown for her son, the *sovereignty* would be all her own.

It is difficult to say with precision, if Matilda *ever* felt real affection towards her husband. It is, however, but too certain that he had little regard for her; for he continued secretly to visit the same impure haunts of loose women to which he resorted before marriage. And here again the malice of his implacable enemy was too successfully played off; for those licentious courtiers whom she purposely placed in his way, used all their efforts to detach him from his young bride; finding fault with her complexion, her manners, and omitting no opportunity of exciting

indifference in hopes of its soon becoming confirmed disgust.

The conduct of Matilda, on her arrival at Denmark, was such as left no room but for approbation: possessing much of that hauteur by which her family are distinguished, she certainly did not forget the dignity of *her* station. Whilst the king, descending from *his* rank, made companions of his gay young courtiers, Matilda exacted all the homage from the ladies of her court to which her exalted station entitled her. She seemed more fond of the shew and pageantry of royalty than desirous of political influence. Notwithstanding the vices of her husband, as he had a large fund of good-nature and generosity, she might have avoided the calamity that too soon overtook her, had it not been for the intrigues of conflicting nobles emulous for power; and the ceaseless intrigues of Juliana Maria. The acclamations that resounded wherever Matilda appeared in public, smote the envious heart of Juliana as the death-bell of her ambitious hopes of securing the crown of Denmark for prince Frederick, who was then in his 13th year. Still she did not relinquish her darling project. Her malice, ever fertile, her hopes, ever buoyant, impelled her to pursue her destined victims. Even amidst the enthusiastic popularity of Matilda's first reception in the colossal palace of Christiansborg, the wicked step-mother was secretly preparing means, whereby she hoped to

effect the destruction of the hated pair, on whose youth, levity, and inexperience, her impious hopes of their ruin were founded. She was overwhelmed by secret grief, when the marriage between young Christian and Matilda was consummated; but then, one great source of hope remained in the ravages which an excessive indulgence in illicit pleasures had made on his constitution: and inexpressible was the mental torture she underwent, when the pregnancy of the young bride was officially announced. Her hopes were blasted by the tidings that filled all Denmark with exaltation; for nothing was more dreaded by the cultivated and liberal part of the community than seeing her own son ascend the throne. For upwards of two months she buried herself as it were in her palace of *Fredensborg*; but which edifice might, with more propriety have been termed *pandemonium* from the iniquitous designs of its owner and her agents.—To complete her dismay, on the 28th of January, 1768, the thunder of a thousand pieces of ordinance, from the forts and fleets of Zealand, proclaimed the safe delivery of the young queen, and the birth of a male child.

Juliana Maria was never popular; and when her notorious partiality in favor of her son, and her secret attempts to set aside the heir apparent to her husband's throne, were known in Denmark, she became an object of general dislike. Every one foresaw that if Christian the

Seventh, died without male issue, this ambitious woman would exercise the sovereign power in Denmark in the name of her son Frederick. These considerations operated with powerful aud genial influence in favour of Matilda. Juliana would perhaps have expired of chagrin amidst the blaze of illuminated palaces, and the shouts of applauding multitudes, had it not been communicated to her that Christian was weary of his bride: that his constitution had been so deeply impaired by his debaucheries, as left but little room for her to fear he would ever beget another child. As to the infant just born, it was of a slight frame, and rather feeble and sickly than robust; and therefore the more liable to fall a prey to some of the many serious maladies to which infants are subject. On such contingencies she supported an existence that was scarcely tolerable: with such fuel she strove to feed the expiring embers of her hopes of ruling Denmark in the name of her son.

The imbecility of the worn-out boy, his corrupted morals, and aversion to his wife, were the real sources of that expensive tour which, a few months after the birth of his son, Christian the Seventh made through Holland, Great Britain, France, and Germany. The motive assigned was to acquire wisdom, to perfect himself in the art of governing; and gather, from a personal review of foreign institutions, materials for the improvement of those established in Denmark, or

suggestions for new ones. He visited William the Fifth, then recently married to a haughty and tyrannical princess of Prussia, whose pride and insolence, in a few years time, involved her weak good natured husband in a contest with the burgers of Amsterdam and other cities, that led to the invasion of Holland by the Prussian army in 1787; and ultimately to the expulsion of the princes of the House of Orange. It has ever been my opinion that this little republic contained more useful institutions than all the monarchies of Europe put together. On those, our young king had but little time for observation and reflection; and the want of superior intellect in his cousin, William the Fifth, rendered it impossible to derive useful instruction in the art of governing from that source, who was himself governed by his wife, and the cabinets of Berlin and St. James's. The time he passed there, was consumed by a succession of splendid feasts, and delightful excursions by land and water. Whilst he was in Amsterdam, he gave Count Bernstorff, and all his suite, the slip; and, disguised as an English sailor, went with Count Holcke to the Rondeel, a temple consecrated to cyprian traffic, where he supported his assumed character with great spirit, in every point save *one*. Not content with this frolic, they bent their steps to the *Pyl*, (arrow) a noted brothel in the Pyl Steeg, where a bevy of mercenary beauties crowded round the strangers; one of whom, deceived by the fair

complexion of our king and his effeminate appearance, accused him of being a lady come in disguise to witness their mysteries, and she was proceeding to disrobe her temporary lover, when she perceived a rich silken vest, and a star and blue riband beneath his sailor's jacket, and at the same moment his flaxen locks fell about his shoulders. In a moment he was recognized as Count De Travendahl. The youthful king of Denmark perceiving he was detected past retrieval, flung a handful of ducats on the floor, and whilst the girls were scrambling for the golden prize, the king and Count Holcke ran down stairs, leaped over the hatch door, and making good use of their heels, avoided all pursuers.

From Holland, the gay and giddy youth proceeded by Antwerp and Brussels to Calais, where a royal yatch, the Mary, Captain Cambell, awaited his arrival, to convey this brother-in-law of George the Third to Dover. One of his chamberlains proceeded as an avant courier to St. James's* to announce the arrival of the Royal

* CHRISTIAN the Seventh was lodged in those appartments in the Stable-yard that are now occupied by the Duke of Clarence, and where the king of Prussia was lodged when he visited this metropolis in the summer of 1814. When Count Holcke, a gay, extravagant, dissipated young nobleman, first saw the exterior of the place, he exclaimed, "*By God this will never do: it is not fit to lodge a* CHRISTIAN *in!*" When he saw the interior the count was less dissatisfied: an impression not to be wondered at; the extreme splendor of Christianborg palace being fresh in his memory, com-

Dane, and see that the accommodations were suited to his master's taste. A train of royal carriages and domestics were sent down to Dover, to convey the king and his numerous suite to London; but such was his impatience to see the famed metropolis of Great Britain, that he declined those sumptuous vehicles, and travelled in post chaise. Having heard that the clergy and corporation of Canterbury and Rochester intended to receive him with all possible pomp, he was thrown almost in a passion, not being at all partial to formalities of any kind; and, as to the clergy, as a body, he held them in contempt, and

pared with which, St. James's appeared, mean and insignificant. The Danish monarch hired his horses of a man named Baker, who died about the year 1797, a master hackney-coachman in Bond-street. This person drove the king's carriage in his peregrinations about the metropolis. He used to take a pride in shewing himself to those females who seemed most desirous to see his royal person: from some of these, who supposed he could not understand them, he occasionally met with coarse compliments, such as "What a little Jack-a-dandy!" "What a squinny thing it is, &c." all which he took in perfect good humour. One day, as his coach drove to the door of his residence, a fine looking girl burst through the double line of attendants, caught the king of Denmark in her arms as he leaped from his carriage, and kissing him heartily said, "*Now kill me if you please, I can die contented since I have kissed the prettiest fellow in the world.*" The king, far from being offended, gently disengaged himself from her embrace, and ran laughing and skipping up stairs. He used to carry gold coins in one pocket, and silver in another, which he gave away, often by handfuls to those who attracted his notice. *Editor.*

spoke of them with derision. He said to Count Bernstorff, "The last king of Denmark who entered Canterbury, laid the city in ashes, and massacred the inhabitants. Would to God they had recollected this, and would let me pass quietly through their venerable town where our ancestors have committed so many crimes. Is it conformable to etiquette I should appear by proxy? If so, pray let me proceed to announce *your* approach, and be you my proxy. Really the unwieldy pomp, and pedantic speeches of the priests and the burgers, fill me with dreadful apprehensions: if this is inadmissible, and I must, sooner or later, undergo this visitation, may it not be deferred till I return to this port for embarkation? believe me the thing would be infinitely more agreeable, and quite as useful, and one ceremony would do for all?" The count told him with a smile, that the good citizens of Canterbury would find less difficulty in forgeting all the outrages suffered by their ancestors, than in being deprived of the honor of making him a speech, and kissing his royal hand. Finding there was no escape, he entreated the count to intimate beforehand that the king had a mortal antipathy to *long speeches.*

In disposition, person, manners, and habits, Christian the Seventh was the reverse of his cousin and brother-in-law George the Third, whose regularity and dignified demeanour, were objects of

ridicule to our wild and giddy king, and his dissolute associates; and instead of his example reclaiming Christian from vicious habits, he laughed at him as a domestic quiz—alike void of elegance or spirit.

As the periodical publications of the day present a faithful detail of the festivities, and illuminations, balls, concerts, and masquerades, military and nautical spectacles,—and tours by land, and excursions by water that occurred in England in honour of our young king, and marked the popularity he enjoyed; it would be superfluous to go into those events: he was pleased with the Dutch; but the English quite amazed and fascinated the wild and giddy boy. The dazzling whirl of dissipation in which his hours were passed, was enough to turn the brain of a wiser head than his: such a rapid succession of splendid spectacles was calculated to pall the senses, enervate the frame, and exhaust the animal spirits of him who was the idol of the day, the object of all those joyous scenes of dissipation. Out of every twenty-four hours, eighteen at least were thus employed! Where then was the leisure for the voluptuous youth to glean lessons of wisdom, and store his mind with knowledge. Unlike Telemachus, the royal wanderer had no Mentor but his own unbridled passions,—no pilots, but servile courtiers, who, to gratify their sovereign flattered every folly, and sought with lamentable avidity, even in the

paths of infamy and vice, the means of making themselves useful or agreeable.* His errors and vices are, however, entitled to more than ordinary indulgence, so much pains having been taken to eradicate the seeds of virtue from his mind, and render him an adept in the exercise of libertinism and profligacy.

Whilst Christian was in London, he acted as he used to do in Copenhagen, namely, visited in disguise the haunts of courtesans of every class; from the purlieus of St. James's to the lanes in Wapping, and the cellars of St. Giles's. His youthful bride, his child, his rank, his health, all were forgotten. These nocturnal rambles in search of adventures were generally commenced after midnight; and after the king had been exhausted by twelve or fourteen hours spent in paying or receiving visits of ceremony; in promenades, drives, or dances. He opened the ball given at Sion House by the Duke of Northumberland, with his sister-in-law, the Queen of Great Britain; he danced with the Princesses of Saxe Gotha, and the Duchess of Ancaster; and within an hour after quitting those scenes of regal grandeur, he would throw off his gorgeous habilements; disguise his

* In the Walpoliana, vol. ii. p. 94, is the following article, headed—"COURT PROMISES."—"I have sent the Strawberry Hill Books to the Prince of Denmark, as I was requested, except the Anecdotes of Painting; which I was forced to buy at a high price to present to the King of Poland. I have no answer from Denmark which I much wonder at."

rank by the dress of a sailor; and making the best of his way to St. Giles's, join in the rude dance of labourers and their lasses with as much glee as if he had never moved in a higher sphere: for which performance, indeed, his former rambles amongst the sailors of Copenhagen had qualified him. Count Holcke, in the same disguise as the king, and passing for his brother, accompanied Christian to these vulgar revels, and, on emergencies, protected him; though, to give the young king his due, he was by no means deficient in personal courage. On such occasions the incognita sometimes met with adventures that put his courage and forbearance to a severe test. It happened in St. Giles's, as he was going through a dance with a very fine healthy looking girl, who had been crying cherries all day behind a barrow in the streets, a gigantic Irishman, her lover, gave him a slight blow, for presuming too far, calling him a foreign puppy, and bidding him keep his hands from the bosom of a girl that had an Irishman for her protector!—in a moment the king returned the compliment: when Holcke stepping between the combatants, told the assailant he must turn his rage on him, as his brother was no match for a man of his strength. By J——, exclaimed the Irishman, your brother is a hero; and I am sorry I gave him the pat; here's my hand and my heart; I am ashamed of having hit you, and if you will but *forgive* me, you shall *bate* me afterwards till you are tired?

Instantly the king and his magnanimous enemy shook hands; gin was called for; Christian drank his glass to the girl whose modesty he had offended; and whom he was, by the lover, invited to kiss as the pledge of peace. The blow he had received called the blood into his fair and delicate cheeks; the girl was a fine healthy looking brunette though a good deal tanned; the wild youth kissed her cherry lips, and sliding his purse full of gold into her half exposed bosom, made good his retreat followed by his associate Count Holcke, laughing heartily at the adventure;—the blow giving the king less pain, than the heroism of the gigantic Irishman had excited admiration. Such was the manner in which Christian the Seventh passed his time in London, by which it may be supposed that his health was more deeply impaired: as to his morals, they were in so bad a state before he left Denmark, it was scarcely possible they could be further contaminated. If Christian the Seventh had adopted a disguise for the purpose of enabling him the better to observe the manners and morals of the middling and lower orders of British society; he might have reaped abundance of amusement and much useful knowledge of the world, of which princes in general are lamentably ignorant. But his motives had their source in those lascivious images which continually floated in his mind, exciting his passions, whilst every day he became less capable of enjoying the frail beauties whose society he

sought, promiscuously, in Cleveland Row, or St. Catherine's. Like Tantalus, though from a different cause, he was continually tormented; and his desire after women increased in proportion as his strength decayed. Stimulants and restoratives were in constant requisition; and the too celebrated Struensee, who attended Christian during this regal tour, saw, with unaffected sorrow, the certain misery he was drawing upon himself by practices alike ruinous to body and soul: all his efforts were in vain, for the king, without restraint abandoned himself to those destructive habits, whose rapid progress within a couple of years, left him nothing but a shattered and debilitated hulk, afflicted in the morning of life with all the imbecility of body and mind incidental to extreme old age!—The condition of the king soon became known. His mother-in-law, the Princess Dowager of Wales, was amusing herself one day with a lady of her court, (to whom, as it was conjectured for certain gratifications, Christian had presented a superb set of jewels,) with telling fortunes by cards, Christian said to her "My dear mother, how do you designate my majesty in your paper court?"—"Lady ——— said the princess, with an arch smile, calls you *the King of Diamonds!*" "And what do you call Holcke," rejoined the conscious youth, colouring as he spoke. "Oh! by a title far more flattering; that rake, who is so formidable to careful fathers and jealous husbands, is called, the *King of Hearts.*"

"Then pray my dear mamma," said Christian,—piqued by her ironical allusions, "under which of the suits do you designate Lord Bute?"——This repartee, as severe as it was unexpected, crimsoned the face of the princess; who soon after retired, evidently offended with her incorrigible son-in-law.

One day Holcke and Christian the Seventh went to a well-known public-house, not far from the Bank, which was much frequented by Danish and Swedish ship-masters. Here they listened to the conversation of the company, which, as might be expected, was full of wonder and admiration at the splendid festivities daily given in honor of Christian the Seventh. Count Holcke, who spoke German in its purity, asked an old skipper what he thought of his king; and if he were not proud of the honours paid to him by the English. "I think," said he drily, "that with such counsellors as *Count Holcke*, if he escapes destruction it will be a miracle." "Do you know Count Holcke, my friend," said the incognita, "as you speak of him thus familiarly?" "Only by report," said the Dane; "but every body in Copenhagen pities the young queen, attributing the coolness which the king shewed towards her, ere he set out on this voyage, to the malice of Count Holcke!" The confusion of this minion may be easier conceived than described; whilst the king, giving the skipper a handful of ducats, bade him speak the truth and *shame the devil*. The moment

the king spoke in Danish, the skipper knew him; and looking at him with love and reverence, said in a low, subdued tone: Forgive me, Sire, but I cannot forbear my tears to see you exposed to the temptations of this vast and wicked metropolis, under the pilotage of the most dissolute nobleman of Denmark. Saying this, he retired, bowing profoundly to the king, and casting at Count Holcke a look full of defiance and reproach. Holcke was a good deal confused, and not a little hurt, seeing the king in a manner countenanced the rudeness of the skipper.

When the king returned to St. James's, he told Struensee what the blunt skipper had said respecting Count Holcke, whose reply was so ambiguous, it might be construed or explained more ways than one; yet, so obviously reflecting on the count as a person dangerous to the king, that the latter said, "I thank you very sincerely, Mr. Physician, for these hints: I think I must transfer your talents from the path you are now in, and make you a *Conferentie Raad**; at the same time extending his hand to Struensee, who, bending his knee to the ground, gracefully touched it with his lips, saying, "Ah, my king! seeing as I do every day the treachery of courtiers, and the slippery ground on which favourites stand, wisdom warns me to shun the allurements of ambition." This was the first step towards the fall of Holcke, and the ad-

* Counsellor of State.

vancement of Doctor Struensee, which followed, but not immediately. Struensee saw with secret rapture the brilliant path opening to his view, that rapidly led him to the highest pitch of fortune, and suddenly precipitated him to the lowest depth of debasement and misery!

To give all the anecdotes that I have heard, connected with the conduct of Christian the Seventh, whilst he staid in England, would fill a moderate volume. Some of the most interesting are already before the world, and many more are of a nature unfit for publication. The following is, I believe, original. For the better supply of his wants, the king had caused an unlimited credit to be opened with a very rich, but penurious merchant in the city, under the assumed name of Mr. Frederickson. Dressed as private gentlemen, the king and Count Holcke went to the merchant's counting-house and took up five thousand pounds. The merchant was very desirous of knowing more of Mr. Frederickson: he even employed a lad to watch them; but in spite of his dexterity, the strangers got off unperceived. It happened, as the same clerk who had attempted to watch the king and Count Holcke in the city, was passing through St. James's palace, he saw the same gentlemen enter, by a private door, the building where the king resided; and asking a sentinel on duty if he knew who they were, he was told they must belong to the Danish king, as no persons but *his attendants* were allowed to pass

or repass at that door! Well pleased with this discovery, the lad, as soon as he got home, communicated it to his master; by whom it was told to his spouse, taken from the kitchen, and whose pride and arrogance was only surpassed by her ignorance. The wife urged her husband, when next those strangers called, to invite them to tea, she being much inclined to ask them to shew her the king and his apartments; and the husband the more readily agreed, as he conjectured, that this Mr. Frederickson might take up the money to lend to the king on very advantageous terms. Thus, though from very different causes, the merchant and his wife were alike desirous of cultivating the acquaintance of the mysterious stranger.

The next time Mr. Frederickson called, he again demanded a very large sum, for which the merchant gave him a check on his banker. The man of business had barely time to ask them to take a cup of tea with his wife some afternoon, before the king and Holcke hastened away, telling him they would talk of that next time they came. The lad who had before tried to watch them home, saw them go into the banker's, and thence to the bank; where a carriage was standing, the door of which was opened the moment the gentlemen appeared, and drove off with such rapidity that the boy was obliged to give up a fruitless chace.

It was not long before the strangers called again, when Mr. Frederickson drew a further and

considerable sum of money. The merchant had by this time made up his mind that the cash was for the use of the king, and that Mr. Frederickson made an enormous profit by those advances. To obtain a share of that gain was the object of his study; the ambition of his spouse was of a more exalted kind, aspiring to no less an honour than that of being presented to the king of Denmark!

Leaving the count engaged in conversation with his wife, the merchant took the king by the lappel of his coat, and led him a little distance from his companion; and after a long and tedious detail of the courses of exchange being much against him; and the great risk of going too deep on one speculation; asked the count in direct terms if the money was not taken up for the use of Christian the Seventh. The king thought at first he was detected; but finding that not to be the case, and that the merchant only wanted to get a share of a good thing, resolved to allow him to proceed, in hopes of deriving amusement by the adventure; thence, he answered in the affirmative. The merchant's eyes sparkled with joy at this confession. "I am told," said he, "that Christian the Seventh is one of the most extravagant and thoughtless young dogs living; and cares no more about money than if it could be raked out of the kennels. Of course you make him pay handsomely? Eh! you understand me?" It was with difficulty the king could restrain from laughter; but he contrived to avoid this rudeness, and, as

gravely as he could, told the man of traffic that he had drawn a correct picture of the king's character. "And pray, sir," said he significantly, "what is the nature of *your* employment?" "My chief employment," said Christian, "consists in dressing the king, and looking out for amusements." "Just the thing!" said the merchant; "then you are the more likely to have influence. Perhaps you pick him up a *tit-bit* now and then, eh!" "No man has more influence with him than I have: of that be assured." "Then, of course, you make a handsome thing of these advances?" "Upon my word of honor, I never made a profit by any pecuniary transaction in my life." The merchant's face fell, considerably lengthened, as he turned his small eyes obliquely towards the king's. After a pause, he began on another tack, and said he supposed he knew nothing of money-dealings, nor how to make the best of his capital? "Nothing whatever!" "How does the king dispose of these sums?" "Gives them away: sometimes in coin or bank notes, oftener in presents of jewelry or other precious articles." "Harkee, sir," said the merchant, delighted by these confessions; "would not you wish to make the best of your influence with the king?" "Certainly I would." "Then, if you will suffer me to instruct you, I will teach you how to make fifty per cent on the capital. Let me buy the jewels and presents,"——Just at that instant one of the king's pages arrived, and desired the clerk to call his

master, who was never less disposed to be interrupted. "Pray sir," said the messenger, "is not the king of Denmark in your house?" "The king of Denmark!!! No, Sir; there is no king of Denmark; only a Mr. Frederickson." "That is the king! the son of Frederick the Fifth: the gentleman with him is Count Holcke, master of his majesty's wardrobe; and I am sent by the princess dowager of Wales, and am ordered to deliver this letter into his majesty's own hands." It would be in vain to attempt describing the stiffening horror that seized on the humbled and mortified son of traffic: the big drops of sweat poured down his face, and every limb shook. The page, alarmed at his agitation, pressed for an explanation; which, in the best manner he could, was given. The page laughed heartily, and told him not to fear that any bad result would follow his proposal to the king to help to cheat himself. It was, however, impossible to induce the man of business to re-appear. As soon as the page (with all the reverence usual on such occasions) presented the letter to the king, the merchant's wife, who had been urging the count to introduce her, was taken in a way somewhat similar to her husband. But the count, in the most gentle and soothing manner, bade her be comforted; and taking her by the hand, introduced her to the king; saying to her, "I have thus, madam, unexpectedly the happiness of fulfilling your flattering wish." The speech was lost upon the woman,

whose stupid stare shewed the complete confusion of her mind; and who might have changed colour, if the paint that covered her cheeks had not prevented it. The king, pitying her confusion, drew from his own finger a valuable ring, which he would, if her fingers had not been too large, have put on one of her's. And desiring her to tell her husband, that the king would never feel offended at what he had said confidentially to Mr. Frederickson, skipped down stairs, laughing heartily at the adventure, and regretting that it had so suddenly terminated.

Such was the profusion of this prince, that although his brother-in-law supported a table for himself and his suite that cost nearly five hundred dollars per diem, he got rid, in various ways, of five times that sum; drawing on Hamburgh for more than one hundred thousand dollars per month. Which enormous drain of specie was sensibly felt on the exchange of Copenhagen; and the more so, as the absence of the king and his principal minister, threw a gloom over the metropolis, and injured trade and commerce. From the sketches already given, it will be conceived that Christian the Seventh rather scattered his treasures than bestowed them; that acting on the impulse of the moment, he gave without discrimination; and it is too probable, from the audacity of impostors, and the modesty of suffering merit, that the former class of applicants swallowed far the greater part of his largesses. But, wherever

real misery met his eye, his hand went as it were spontaneously to his pocket; and if that chanced to be empty, his ring, watch, or any other valuable about him was bestowed instead of money. He saw a poor tradesman put into a hackney-coach by two bailiffs, followed by his weeping wife and family, from whom he was about to be torn, and thrown into prison. To avoid observation, he ordered Molckte to follow the coach to the Marshalsea: he paid the debt and costs, and setting the poor man free from every other demand, gave him five hundred dollars to enable him to begin the world anew: he distributed considerable sums generally amongst the poor debtors confined in the different jails of the metropolis. To men of science he paid but little attention; nor was he a warm patron of literature or the fine arts. All the faculties of his mind were concentrated in voluptuous pursuits. He was struck by the marked superiority of the British stage; and Mr. Garrick had the honor of an audience. The king paid homage to his genius, repeating a line of Shakespeare as he presented him with a very valuable snuff-box set with brilliants. Mr. Martin of Stockholm, a Swede, and an eminent landscape painter, was then in London. Having recently seen the queen Magdalena Sophia, the sister of Christian the Seventh, and being much admired as an artist, he was admitted to an audience, and received a valuable present as a token of affection towards his royal sister, the queen of Sweden,

and of respect to the artist; who offended the king by telling him, in reply to a question, "whether the queen, his sister, was happy?" that, "she was as happy as a young woman could be expected who had been married nearly three years, and yet remained a virgin." The king coloured at the insinuation contained in this imprudent reply, which, finding its way to Stockholm, injured Mr. Martin very materially.

After distributing many magnificent presents, and taking leave of the king, queen, and royal family, the king of Denmark on the 13th of October 1768, sat off for Dover, where he embarked for Calais, and proceeded to Paris. There he was received with all the eclat and magnificence, in the power of that voluptuous court to bestow on a prince, who had travelled so far to visit the most polished court in Europe. Here the treasures of France and Denmark were poured forth in a mingled stream; and the king plunged anew into dissipation. The Duke of Orleans initiated him in Parisian voluptuousness. It was, perhaps, mere caprice that induced Christian to travel in Holland, *incog.* as Prince of Travendahl;—in England as a king,—in France as Count of Oldenburgh. After dining at Versailles, with the French king, queen, and court, a large curtain was withdrawn and shewed him a fine view of his great palace, Christianborg, at Copenhagan. The prince De Conde gave him a grand hunt by torch-light in an illuminated forest. Such splendid spec-

tacles, even in France, were scarcely ever before witnessed. No wonder that the youthful king was completely entranced, and lost, as it were, in a flood of pleasure. Whilst he was in this capital, in defiance of Struensee's remonstrances, he abandoned himself with more fury than ever to unrestrained habits of debauchery, whilst his health more than ever suffered, not only by former taints, but still more severely by a recent infection, which rendered his case almost hopeless. At the court of Versailles, our king left a very mean character behind him as to his prowess in feats of love; and there, as in London, Christian was king of *diamonds*, and Holcke *king of hearts!*

On the 8th of December, the king and his suite quitted Paris, on his return to the capital of Denmark, *viâ* Strasburg and Altona, which he reached on the beginning of January, 1769, after an absence of rather more than six months, and the expenditure of nearly two hundred thousand pounds sterling.

## CHAP. V.

*Queen Matilda.—The Counts Struensee and Rantzau.—Court intrigues.—Peter the Third, Count Rantzau the cause of his death.—Madame Göhler.—First confidential interview between Queen Matilda and Struensee.—Its result.—Reflections on their comparative criminality.*

DURING the absence of her giddy lord, Matilda resided principally at the palace of Fredericksberg, in the vicinity of Copenhagen; and her conduct was free from reproach. Though courted and menaced by conflicting factions, she joined with none, nor shewed the least ambition for political power. She appeared to feel a truly maternal affection for her child, and in spite of remonstrances, had the infant and nurse to sleep in her own apartment. She sometimes visited, and was visited by, the queen dowager and prince Frederick, but lived very retired. She was grown in stature, and appeared much more womanly than when she arrived in Denmark. The glow of robust health was on her cheek; she often nursed her child, and a more interesting

object could scarcely be conceived than this healthy and lively young queen playing with her babe. During this state of retirement, Matilda visited the houses of the farmers and peasants who resided near the palace; and though she could not converse fluently with those poor grateful people, she gained their warm hearts by her condescension in visiting their cottages, smiling graciously on their wives and daughters, and distributing useful presents. Thus innocently, queen Matilda passed her time during the travels of her wild and dissipated husband.

During all this time, the different factions were struggling for ascendency. The chiefs of those domestic curses, sent home to Denmark such accounts of the conduct of the king, and the overweening influence of Count Holcke, as awakened the most serious apprehensions in the minds of those who really felt for their country. Matilda ranked Count Holcke as her most formidable enemy; and she strove in vain to prevent his accompanying the king. Count Charles Schak Rantzau, governor of Gluckstadt, a general in the army, a knight of the order of the Elephant, the head of one of the most powerful families under the Danish crown, being ambitious of power, found means to induce Count Holcke and Enevold Brandts to favor the appointment of Doctor John Frederick Struensee, as physician in ordinary to the king, and to accompany his majesty in the grand tour that he meditated through Holland,

England, France, and Germany.* There is scarcely a doubt, though the immediate consequence of this step was beneficial to Struensee alone, that general Count Rantzau had his own interest in view; and that he hoped, by the talents and influence of Struensee, to ascertain and counteract the machinations of Count Holcke, and once more obtain a post of consequence in the court of Christian the Seventh.

Struensee was a libertine and a freethinker:

The following account of the unfortunate count Struensee, and his father and brothers, is extracted from the Conversion of Struensee, p. 55—57.

Adam Struensee, his father, was born at New Rippon, educated at Brandenburg, and studied at Halle and Jena. In 1730, he was made chaplain to Count Witgenstein; he married the daughter of the count's physician. Frederick the Fifth advanced him to the high post of general superintendant to the two duchies; a clerical rank, nearly equal to a bishop.

John Frederick, afterwards Count Struensee, was born at Halle, on the 5th of August, 1737; studied medicine; was appointed physician to the districts of Rantzau and Pinneberg; resided at Altena; in April, 1768, was appointed physician to the king;—in May, 1769, lecture royale;—on the 19th May, 1770, counsellor of conference, and maitre du requestes;—in July, 1771, first minister of the crown, created a count, and invested, by the queen, with the order of Matilda;—was arrested the 17th January, 1772, and beheaded, &c. the 28th April following. Charles Struensee, now a minister of the crown (1817) in Prussia, with the rank of baron, was born in 1735,—was professor of mathematics, at Ligneitz, in Silisia. He was called to Denmark, by Struensee; made minister of justice, and arrested with him; as was also the case with a younger brother, to whom he had given a commission in the horse-guards.

he possessed considerable talents, and became a favorite with this nobleman, whose morals were of the same loose stamp. Count Rantzau married his first cousin, the daughter of his father's brother, Count Oppendorff, of Kiel. It was rather a union of the two estates of Rantzau Oppendorff and Rantzau Aschberg. The count and countess had not been long married before she retired from the count's residence. Her husband ever used to speak of her as a good creature, a little beside herself. It was too probably his libertine pursuits that destroyed her health, her peace, and affected her intellects. He frequently visited the countess when he was near her residence, and shewed her respect when she was no longer capable of being gratified by his attentions.

When young, the count was a very fine man: he was of a profuse disposition, caring so little about money, that when he was colonel of a regiment, and wanted to light his pipe, if no other paper were within reach, he would make use of Danish bank notes of ten, twenty, or thirty dollars each. His purse and his table were always open to his friends. He was munificent to the poor; a liberal landlord, a brave officer, accomplished courtier, and a universal lover. He possessed that cool kind of courage which denotes the firmest nerves. He had been engaged in several duels, some of a political, but more of *female* origin, if the expression may be allowed, and more than once he laid an opponent dead at his feet. In one case,

where he had debauched the daughter of a gentleman whom he could not avoid fighting, and who rushed on the sword of his child's betrayer, the count was for a time inconsolable; he threw himself at the feet of the widow with every mark of penitence, imploring her forgiveness; he married with the *left hand*,* the unfortunate lady he had seduced, and settled an ample provision on the mother and her other children. Time and new amours soon effaced the melancholy inspired by this domestic tragedy, and the count became as gay and dissolute as ever.

His estates were very considerable, and lay principally at Aschberg, about four English miles from Ploën, and twenty from Lubeck. His residence in Copenhagen was the Princens Palace, to the west of Christianborg. At an early age this distinguished nobleman served the emperor of Austria. He was at Petersburgh when Peter the Third avowed his determination to make war on Denmark for the recovery of the territories ceded in 1737, in Holstein and Sleiswick.

At that eventful crisis, count Charles Schak Rantzau was not an idle spectator of his country's danger. He gained the confidence of prince

* An intermediate state, between that of wife and mistress, in use in Germany, and called '*left-hand marriages*;' mostly used where a great inequality exists as to birth and rank. It is said that George the First married the person, afterwards Duchess of Kendal, in that way.

Orloff and the empress, by communicating the secret designs of the unfortunate emperor, who, true or false, was accused by count Rantzau of intending to put the empress to death. The result is too well known to require repetition. Peter was dethroned and murdered; his wife ascended the throne;* Holstein was saved from invasion; and the unoffending Hamburgers were forced to pay Frederic the fifth a million of dollars, because the autocrat of all the Russias had menaced Denmark with invasion!—Thus, in Russia too, he helped to depose a *legitimate* sovereign, and elevate a . . . . . and a . . . . . to an imperial throne. Ten years afterwards, he seized a young and interesting queen, the wife of his own sovereign, in the dead hour of sleep, and hurled her from a throne to a prison! Strange events these to have fallen to one man's share! It is neither my object to vilify the memory of this extraordinary nobleman, nor conceal his failings. He was a marked character; signalized from the ordinary herd of courtiers by splendid qualities. I have never yet seen any thing like a correct biographical sketch of his eventful life; all I can do is to supply a few leading traits, that may

* To prove that Peter came to his death by natural means, his *disconsolate* widow, had his corse exposed naked to the view of all the world, although a company of grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, surrounded it on every side, threatening instant death to any one who should dare approach to examine it !!!

perhaps remove the mystery that envelope his motive and conduct, on the fatal night that consigned a young and beautiful queen to shame, ruin, and exile.

It is already mentioned, that in the spring of 1768, count Rantzau was the cause of Struensee being placed near the person of Christian the Seventh. It is probable that the real intention of Rantzau was to gain early and correct intelligence of the conduct of counts Holcke, Bernstorff, Molckte, &c. particularly the former, with the view of counteracting Holcke, and ingratiating himself with the queen. Whether Struensee had secret instructions or not, it is certain he omitted no opportunity of undermining Holcke in the esteem of the king; for he was admirably calculated to perform a secondary part, though wholly incapable of striding the whirlwind and directing the storm.

During the king's stay at Paris, count Holcke fell under serious displeasure; and just then arrived the celebrated count, then chamberlain von Brandt, a sort of dependant and partizan of Rantzau's, the bosom friend of Struensee; a man of polished manners, undaunted courage, a deist as to religion, and a libertine as to love. From the period of Brandt's arrival in Paris, the influence of the giddy and voluptuous count Holcke was shaken, and diminished; but the time of his dismissal, and of Brandt's elevation to his high post, had not then arrived.

Those politicians, the counts Bernstorff and

Molckte, saw without alarm the king's fondness of the gay and dissipated count Holcke, because, absorbed in voluptuous pursuits, those statesmen thought him perfectly indifferent to state affairs: he might dissipate the king's treasures, contaminate his morals, and destroy his constitution without censure, as long as he did not presume to interfere with the government of the kingdom.

Count Rantzau took the best means in his power to convince queen Matilda of these facts; and that the great object of each faction was to keep her majesty from meddling with affairs of state. The partisans of Juliana have accused Struensee of transmitting anonymous letters to the queen, containing the most exaggerated pictures of the king's debaucheries; and they have even asserted that Struensee himself was the instigator of the king's most criminal excesses, on purpose that, on his return to Denmark, he might infect his queen! aspersions which I notice only to illustrate the rancorous malice of the enemies of Struensee.

As to count Rantzau, he felt all the esteem of an affectionate brother towards Frederic the Fifth. He was not ignorant of the base designs of Juliana Maria. He promised her dying husband on his oath, and his honor, that he would never desert his favorite boy Christian. He now saw that son surrounded by dissolute minions, who were urging him to destruction. It is therefore allowable to presume that count Rantzau had no dishonorable

views in the part he acted, as it were behind the scenes; and that in seeking to obtain power, he intended to use it for the public good.

The king's irregularities, led to more frequent personal interviews between him and Struensee, who knew so well how to use them that, insensibly, he acquired, not merely an influence, but such kind of *authority* over the king, as a man might he supposed to possess who is the keeper of another's honor; a witness of his secret vices; and a mild and eloquent declaimer against them. And though the giddy prince took no pains to improve his mind by the intercourse with distinguished foreigners which his recent tour had afforded, Struensee was not so remiss; but whilst he revelled in voluptuous pleasures, he dedicated a considerable part of his time to the acquirement of knowledge. During this tour, his manners, always insinuating and pleasing, had acquired a polish and dignity before unknown. Even the giddy and dissolute count Holcke perceived it: Struensee was a deist when a mere boy at Halle; and of course, his intercourse at Paris with philosophers and wits, had not increased his reverence for revealed religion. In short, Struensee returned to Denmark a corrupted atheist, and as refined a sensualist as ever Paris produced.

It was a gross mistake of the true state of things that led Mr. B. H. Latrobe and so many writers to believe that Matilda once felt aversion towards Stru-

ensee.* It was a master stroke of policy, intended to blind and deceive counts Molckte and Bernstorff; for if the queen had shewn any tokens of preference or solicitude, ere Struensee had intrenched himself as it were in the good graces of his imbecile sovereign, the suspicions of Holcke would have been awakened, and means found to remove the intruder before he had taken too deep root.

Such was the situation of affairs, on the return to Denmark of Christian the Seventh and his suite, at the beginning of 1769.

In proportion as the king declined and degenerated in his physical and intellectual powers, Matilda had made more than proportionate advances. Her person was much increased in height and breadth; her air and appearance more dignified and imposing; her mind seemed to have acquired firmness, and, on their first interview, her conscious husband absolutely startled at the improved appearance of his queen: reflecting on his own imbecility, he seemed half reluctant, half ashamed to meet her.

Unfortunate victim of the crimes of an unprincipled step-mother! at that moment his whole system was tainted; and he should not have approached Matilda, to tantalize her imagination, and pollute her wholesome blood! Like the snail

* Authentic elucidation of the history of counts Struensee and Brandt, p. 40.

that crawls over the blushing nectarine, he defiled his youthful bride; the poison, spreading through her veins, soon displayed its destructive influence. To whomsoever she had applied, of all the medical men in Denmark, Struensee was the man whom she should have most avoided.

Amongst the ladies with whom Matilda associated, her favourite was Madame Göhler,* the beautiful, accomplished, fascinating and wanton wife of the general of that name. Philosoff the Russian minister, and Struensee, were favoured rivals in this lady's good graces, who made her charms subservient to her political views. She aimed at supplanting Count Holcke, to promote the influence of the queen, and through her favor to advance herself to the rank of chief female favourite. Her Russian lover declared against the queen's interest, and on this account Madame Göhler excluded him from her boudoir; and Struensee was preferred, much less from personal advantages than the political power she hoped to obtain by making him her instrument. The courts of Russia and France were each supporting their favorite agents; those were Bernstorff, Molckte,

* Lady Göhler was at this time about 27 years of age: her figure, good; her complexion remarkably clear and fine; features small and regular, yet expressive; her eyes dark and piercing; she was rather too much inclined to *en bon point;* her style of dress was greatly admired. General Göhler was a good looking man; rather short and stout; he commanded the artillery, and resided in the Storm Gadan.

Schimmelman, Thott, and Lauerig. The Russian minister, imputing his declining influence with Madame Göhler to the superior accomplishments of Struensee, and knowing that his rank as an ambassador forbade a *physician* lifting an arm against him, like a cowardly ruffian, he fell unawares upon his rival, and gave him a very severe castigation with a cane; a mode of discipline to which he had himself often submitted at Petersburg from the hand of Peter the Third, in whose murder he was afterwards instrumental. His associate, *Salder*, was born in Holstein, and dismissed on a charge of fraud and embezzlement, from his post as bailiff over the royal domain called Trittau: an appointment that marked the contempt felt by Catherine and her ministers towards the Danish court.

Madame Göhler made love subservient to ambition: she dismissed the Russian boyard the moment her interest required it: and instead of monopolizing the attentions of Struensee, she did all she could to advance his interest with the queen; to whom she spoke of Struensee as a man worthy of the esteem and confidence of any woman, and earnestly advised Matilda to allow her to state her majesty's case to the general, that he might make it known to Struensee.

The interview that decided the fate of Matilda and Struensee took place, under the mediation of lady Göhler, in the king's hunting lodge at Travendahl. On this occasion Struensee adorned

his person with more than common care; and he certainly formed a striking contrast to the king his master. Struensee was full five feet ten inches high, and very robust; his complexion fair; his eye blue; his luxuriant hair was flaxen, rather inclined to yellow; a high forehead, prominent nose, well-formed mouth, a good set of teeth:* his personal defects consisted, in his appearance being too heavy to be graceful, his neck was short, and he was a little in-kneed: from these particulars it will readily be conceived that he made a better figure on horseback than on foot. Struensee took particular pride in dressing with elegance; he fenced and danced well; and whilst he was in England, he took lessons from Mr. Astley, and greatly improved his horsemanship. He wore his hair dressed like the queen, namely, four curls on each side, a high toupee, the hair behind plaited, and made fast with a comb; he wore a black silk waistcoat, small clothes and stockings; and a coat of blue cloth with gilt buttons; the suit which he then wore having been made by the first tailor in London: Struensee was then just in the flower of his days; the glow of robust health tinged his florid cheeks, and sparkled in his fine blue eyes; and if he were not an Adonis, he was a noble looking fellow, whose

* In the "*Conversion of Struensee*," the portrait is rather a caricature than a likeness. In Mr. Jens Wolff's Northern Tour, p. 80, there is a more natural representation, but the attitude is bad. *Editor.*

physiognomy and manners were calculated to make too deep an impression on an amorous, neglected, insulted, and injured woman.

It cannot be believed that Matilda attended this assignation without experiencing emotions painful and humiliating; and she inherited her full share of the hauteur that marks her family. Struensee was, of course, all deference; he said but little; for Lady Göhler had beforehand apprised the queen of all the vices of her degenerate husband; polluting her ear by the description of habits, the very knowledge of which was heretofore hidden from her, and which cannot be told by a woman of real modesty. But the fair Matilda did not possess that extreme delicacy that would lead some females to perish by inches, rather than reveal their sexual infirmities to a stranger: on the contrary, she discoursed relative to her health with great composure. But her bosom swelled with scorn and indignation, and tears of anger, rather than sorrow, fell in profusion from her fine eyes, as Madame Göhler recited those disgusting articles of impeachment against Christian the Seventh, that are too indelicate to be inserted. This fatal interview, brought about by lady Göhler to promote her own personal views, was the first important error committed by a young and inexperienced queen. Matilda's first impulse was to write home to her mother and brother, and demand a separation, with liberty to retire to England. "I have experienced little else," said the

queen, "than mortifications: the king's family are all secretly my enemies; the ministers of the crown are my enemies; and my husband is the worst foe of all! I will take my child and quit these hated shores." Whilst grief and indignation thus shook her frame, Madame Göhler appeared affected by the sorrows of Matilda almost as powerfully as the fair sufferer herself. Struensee stood in an attitude as if he were bowed down by grief: his left hand pressed his bosom; with his right he covered his face, as it were to conceal the tears that, whether they were real or suborned, trickled down his manly cheeks. The first burst of passion over, Matilda was pleased by the silent insidious homage paid by the accomplished Struensee. "You pity me, Sir," said she; "Madame Göhler has convinced me how truly you are my friend: be then my counsellor, as well as physician, and try if you cannot restore my peace of mind, as well as health!" Struensee could scarcely conceal his transports: Madame Göhler was in secret raptures at the complete success that appeared to attend her scheme. Bowing lowly, in an attitude of classical propriety, the exulting flatterer said, "It would ill become me, revered queen, to offer any other than professional advice; and were I to presume thus far, and offer my humble opinion, I could not improve upon your own noble and just intention of appealing to the protection of your august family: but there is one point that probably your majesty may

not have considered: your infant, madam, is the heir apparent to the crown of Denmark, and should you resolve to quit these shores, your child must be left behind; left perhaps to perish under their cruelty who were the first great cause of all his royal father's misfortunes." Struensee never looked better, or spoke more gracefully or impressively. Matilda was overcome; she almost screamed, when by a master-touch Struensee alluded to her separation from her husband and return to England, as necessarily occasioning a separation from her beloved child! All the fears of the tenderest mother rushed in a flood to her agitated bosom: she almost screamed as with a convulsed voice, she exclaimed, "Never, never, will I abandon my child!" Madame Göhler wept in silence. Struensee, when Matilda appeared more calm, bade her assume her proper station, banish Count Holcke, and gradually take the reins of government into her own hands; which, said he, your unhappy lord will never more be in a condition to exercise: telling the afflicted queen that although the king might live many years, yet he thought his intellectual faculties could never be restored.

Madame Göhler then, with earnest humility, entreated the queen not to quit a court of which she was the pride and ornament, and leave her child and friends to the mercy of Juliana. This name, as by magic, roused all her pride and resentment. "No!" said Matilda with energy, "I will not flee: I will face my foes, and conquer them

or perish!" This was the very point to which Madame Göhler and Struensee wished to work her feelings. "Thanks be to God! for this resolve," exclaimed the beauteous Dane, as she dropped on her knee to promise, in the name of her Creator, eternal fidelity to her royal mistress and her child. Struensee, whose heart was really touched, sobbed audibly. Secretly soothed by this proof of attachment and sensibility, Matilda extended her hand, saying, "*Henceforth be you my knight.*" Struensee, dropping on his knee opposite to Madame Göhler, bedewed her hand with tears, as he breathed a solemn oath to be a true knight to his queen! This interview decided the destiny of Matilda and Struensee; though probably at this moment, not one of the interesting groupe harboured a thought of the consequences that ensued. From this moment the intercourse between Matilda and Struensee grew more frequent; her health was soon restored, and he that was her physician, gained her heart. The queen was young, her passions at their flood, her feelings violent, her judgment weak, as must ever be the case where our passions are strong enough to subdue our reason. And if ever a woman merited pardon for a frailty, it was Matilda: let any one look at such a female, and such a husband! let them consider her tainted by a loathsome disease, unbosoming herself to a man of high endowments, in the flower of manhood. The temptation was too powerful for human nature, under such circumstances, to resist: she yielded,

and they fell: but that Deity who filled their too susceptible hearts with those warm passions that precipitated them from their high estate, will wipe from his tablets the record of their crime, which is amply expiated by their sufferings. If Matilda had been of more mature years, if her passions had been less ardent, a proper sense of her duty would have curbed resentful feelings; for it cannot be doubted that the vast distance between their stations, and the solemn nature of his duties as physician to the king her husband, must have restrained Struensee, and kept him in awe, however ardent were his passion, or daring his ambition. Real, in-born modesty is one of the sweetest graces, as well as the strongest guards, of female chastity. Perhaps the palaces of kings and princes are not the places where this virtue thrives, thence, Matilda, even were she deficient in that quality, is rather an object of compassion than censure. Madam Göhler was an able auxiliary; and if Struensee brought his deistical principles into play; if he were able, as I have been assured was the case, to eradicate from her mind all belief in revealed religion and a state of future punishment or reward, then indeed the fortress was dismantled, and, when betrayed by the traitor passions within, incapable of resistance!—It is really hard to decide where lay the preponderating weight of blame. The first impulse of Matilda's feelings, in the eventful interview at Travendahl, took a proper direction; which Madame Göhler

and Struensee's insidious council turned aside. Even at this period, the disposition of Matilda had lost much of that gentleness and good nature which distinguished her on her first arrival. Her carriage had become more bold and confident; her temper more quick, severe, and imperious. It is not likely she ever felt a very strong affection towards a worn out debauchee, who grew tired of her before the honey-moon expired; and it is consistent with the decided character of Matilda to imagine, when she found her blood tainted with a loathsome disease by an imbecile and depraved husband, that every vestige of respect vanished; and hatred, scorn, and the fiercest thirst of vengeance, took its place in her bosom. The enemies of Struensee accused him of having, through Count Charles Schak Rantzau, communicated to the queen all the follies and vices that disgraced her husband during his travels the preceding year. These accusations, like a multitude more with which the memory of the guilty favorite has been loaded, had probably no other foundation than the black and horrible malice of his enemies, who literally carried their enmity beyond the grave.

Matilda must have made unequivocal advances to Struensee: but let not her memory be stigmatised by this remark: for if she resolved to transfer to him the heart that her husband had relinquished, it was then her business to save the man to whose affections she aspired, the guilt and peril of se-

ducing her. These facts, however, offer no apology for her lover. What insult, wrong, or provocation had *he* to plead? With all his faults, the king had been to him a kind master. He ought to have warned the young and irritated queen of the fearful precipice she was ascending. Struensee was guilty of the most heinous breach of faith that can be conceived; and *he* had neither the levity of youth, nor the want of a thorough knowledge of the world, to plead as an excuse for his delinquency. Struensee was as great a sensualist as his royal master; but he had more self-command, and husbanded his stock of health and manhood with more skill. This superior judgment blackens the turpitude of Struensee's conduct. It was impossible for him to stifle the voice of honour in his conscience, even if he were ever so firmly resolved to disregard its dictates: nor could he blind himself to the dangers that beset him on every side: dangers that were so formidable and so palpable, that when his principles proved too much relaxed to restrain his licentious passions, common sense, supplying the place of honesty in many cases, warned him in vain to desist.

Struensee, in his defence, affirmed, and probably with justice, that during his attendance on the king on his travels, he strove by every means in his power to wean him from his vicious propensities; warning him of that swift and sure destruction in which their continuance would involve both body and mind. Happy had it been for

himself and for Matilda if he could have subdued his own master passion, and taught the young indignant queen to curb her vindictive feelings, and avoid dishonour. If he had pursued this direct, straight, and honorable course; if, with all the pathos and eloquence of which he was master, he had told the queen that his life she might command, but his honour he must preserve, and that, although as an humble friend he might serve her, as a lover he should entail eternal ruin and disgrace on both their heads; it is highly probable that pride would have averted the calamity and disgrace that followed; and Struensee, faithful to his sovereign, and respected by the woman whom he had saved from dishonour, might still have gratified the utmost scope of laudable ambition, and lived and died honored and respected: instead of which, with his eyes open, he rushed upon infamy and destruction, dragging his unfortunate queen with him to perdition.

## CHAP. VI.

*Melancholy state of the king.—A royal tour to the Duchies of Holstein and Sleiswick.—Count Rantzau's hospitality.—History of Gourmand, the king's favorite dog.—Anecdotes of the court.—A Circassian princess.—Altered manners of Queen Matilda: wears leathern small-clothes, and sits her horse like a man.—Prosperity more difficult to endure than adversity.—Struensee and Brandt admonished by Count Rantzau.—The last interview: a dream.—The arrest of Matilda, Struensee, and Brandt.*

IT is exceedingly difficult to comprehend the real state of the king's intellects at this period of his life:* his senses were so far unimpaired that he knew

* Count Reventlau had a daughter who was a confirmed idiot: she was inoculated for the small pox, and had a very fine sort; this being communicated to Frederick the Fifth, he had matter taken from her arm for the inoculation of his son Christian. Strong prejudices prevailed at that time against the practice, on the score of its *impiety*; and the subsequent decay of intellect that befel this prince was imputed to the person being an idiot from whom the infection was received.

every body with whom he was acquainted; and conversed rationally enough on common-place subjects: he had the most fixed abhorrence of public business, and signed his name without investigation to every thing proposed by his ministers. During his recent tour through the principal parts of Europe, his excesses of every kind were multiplied, and those secret vices to which in early youth he was initiated through the wickness of Juliana, grew so strong upon him, that even the presence of his attendants was no restraint upon their filthy indulgence; and as though nature intended a two-fold punishment for those who so scandalously violated her laws, the effect of these vices smite the understanding and paralyze the intellectual, as well as the physical faculties. During the seven months that Christian the Seventh spent in his travels, his mind was kept in a state of intense exertion by the fascinating objects that every hour assailed his senses. He seemed unusually depressed and abashed when he first saw the queen and his child, after his return from France. The excessive draughts upon his spirits accelerated the catastrophe, and he declined rapidly from that period; which change was, by the enemies of Matilda and Struensee, imputed to drugs administered by their orders, and to the brutal coercion to which he was subjected. He was reduced to a state of incapacity to govern, before Matilda and Struensee seized the helm: but he was not in a condition that required the

vigilance of a keeper. From being quick and sensitive, he grew dull, lethargic, sullen, and dreadfully furious if greaty irritated.

Whilst Struensee was lord of the ascendant, the king was held in a state of liberal confinement, debarred from the intercourse and society of every one save those who were placed about his person by the queen and Matilda: yet, during all that period, he dined in public with the queen; accompanied her in the field sports to which she became so much addicted; appeared at the French and Italian operas, danced at their balls, and took part in their card parties: but little if any attention was paid to what he said, except as far as his wants were concerned; and all the subaltern attendants and domestic servants had orders never to speak to the king! One Sunday, coming from the royal chapel, the king turned the wrong way, and lost himself in the vast passages of his enormous palace: seeing Struensee's valet, he asked him, in a mild and melancholy tone, to shew him his way to his apartment. This person, a young, handsome, gay Norwegian, and a favorite and humble confidant of his master, respectfully, but in profound silence, complied with the monarch's request, and conducted him to his magnificent prison.

Not long after the wasteful and impolitic tour to England, France, &c. the court went on a journey through Holstein and Sleiswick; during which the king and queen paid a visit to Count

Rantzau at his principal country residence Aschberg*. The mansion was neither very large nor magnificent. The old edifice was much in the style of gentlemen's houses in England of the seventeenth century: the new house, as it was called, was connected with the ancient structure, and consisted of a suite of four tolerable rooms on the ground floor, and as many above: this building was allotted to the king and queen, and their principal courtiers, as Brandt, Struensee, &c. Amongst the females was the lady of General Göhler, and the wife of counsellor Fabricius,† a gay intriguing woman, whose husband was one of

* The family of Rantzau was one of the most celebrated in Holstein, not only for antiquity and the extent of their possessions, but for the number of warriors and statesmen it produced. The gardens at Aschberg were as much celebrated in that country as those of Stow in England. In the centre was a conical hill, perhaps an ancient tumulus, round which a spiral walk led to the summit. This mount was planted with *ash-trees; berg* signifies a mountain, and the name of this county either gave its appellation to, or was derived from this mount. On the top was a rural bower. From this mount there was a fine view over the lake of eight miles breadth, diversified by woody islands and picturesque shores. From the post road, a double row of venerable elms formed a noble avenue that led to the principal entrance. At a small distance was a tolerably good inn, where the domestics of the king and his nobles lodged, and which, in summer time, was generally full of company from Lubeck, Hamburgh, &c. who were attracted by the rural beauties of Aschberg. *Editor.*

† This gentleman was possessed of very superior talents; he was Struensee's confidential adviser, whose fall involved him in ruin.

Struensee's confidential friends. Count Rantzau himself was the most finished libertine of the age; but even that experienced courtier saw with surprise the bold and altered manners of the young queen, and the licentiousness that reigned amongst her female train. It was the opportunities that this Holstein journey, and the residence of the court at his house, afforded to the count of observing the conduct of Struensee and the queen, that convinced him he had introduced an agent who would soon tower high above himself, and probably kick down the ladder by which he had been raised. His suspicions once awakened, he watched the proceedings of Struensee and the queen, which, confirming his jealous fears to their utmost extent, soon eradicated every feeling of friendship towards Struensee, and in its place implanted those deadly feelings of hatred which, at no very distant day, led to the destruction of the incautious pair.

During the residence of the court at the count's mansion, he one day found means, in spite of the vigilance of Brandt and Struensee, to obtain an hour's conversation with the king. Count Rantzau knew his weakness too well to commit himself in any way; all he wished was to ascertain the state of the king's mind, who, pleased with the puerile amusements that were provided, seemed perfectly indifferent to every thing else. Rantzau gazed on the emasculated

being with looks fraught with more meaning than his words, and tears trickled down his furrowed cheeks. The king seemed affected; for a moment, the former sensibility and vivacity of his character illumined his dimmed eye and pallid cheek. He seized the count by the hand, and said—"You were a true friend to my father, you will never be an enemy to me."—"Never, sire! never will I hesitate to sacrifice my life in your defence!" Then falling on one knee, he drew an antique ring from his finger, and put it on the king's, saying in a solemn manner, "This ring, sire, was given me by your royal father when I returned from Russia, and when, by fortunate exertions there, I was the humble means of averting a great calamity that threatened his throne: deign to wear this for my sake, and for your father's; and if ever your majesty thinks yourself in danger, and you want the assistance of Rantzau, send this ring to me, and I will flee on the wings of affection and loyalty to your aid." Rantzau had scarcely wiped the falling tear away, ere the king, hearing footsteps approach, fell off at once into his idiot state, and running to a canine friend of his that was basking in the sun, took him round the neck, hugging him with ardour, and calling him his faithful guard. This uncommon dog was liver-coloured, of prodigious height and size; his broad chest shewed all the strength of the English mastiff; his form, the elegance of the greyhound. Such was the king's favourite dog, called *Gour-*

*mand.* Gourmand* had a carriage for his sole use when the king travelled, and a lacquey to attend him; he was served with food from the king's table, and was often fed by his royal master's hand. In the midst of regal etiquette, Gourmand alone acted without restraint, though generally with distinguished decency: he would, when he pleased, stretch his fine-formed limbs on the same rich sofa where his master reclined; and then no one dared approach till he awoke. He was playsome, docile, and *incorruptibly* faithful to his master: the only one of all the king's attendants of whom so much might be said with any regard to historical truth.

The partisans of Bernstorff, of Molckte, and of Juliana, in derision of Struensee's new born honor, dubbed this four-legged favorite of their sovereign, Monsieur Gourmand, *Conferentie Raad; i. e.* Mr. Gourmand, privy counsellor to the king. Such was the animal, and such the honors paid to him by Christian the Seventh, to which he hastened almost before Rantzau had done speaking; a circumstance that led the count to think that the king was apprehensive of danger,

Gourmand, on account of his beauty and gigantic size, was presented to the king by a nobleman who resided at or near to Lubeck: after the fall of Struensee the king was deprived of his favorite dog, which was returned to the person by whom it had been presented. It is said that this dog leaped on and seized an assa-sin, who, at a masquerade in 1772, was there with a view to kill the king. *Editor.*

and fully comprehended the meaning of the count's gift. It would be difficult to conceive a more distressing spectacle, than that presented to a contemplative mind in the wreck of this gay young monarch, now became an object of fixed aversion to his wife, and of secret scorn to his own menials. Enfeebled as he was in mind and body, he had yet sufficient consciousness to feel at intervals all the misery of his degraded condition, though he wanted resolution to quit those abhorrent vices by which it was produced. From this moment, till the fatal 17th of January 1772, the king took no particular notice of the count, but the ring kept its place on his finger. During the stay of the court at Aschberg, Count Rantzau spared no pains nor expence to render his abode agreeable to the young queen. Each day had its peculiar festivities and amusements; music, hunting, fishing, sailing on the lake, and rustic sports, which more than any pastime, pleased the imbecile king. The queen, fully satisfied with the magnificence and respect with which Count Rantzau had entertained her,—little dreaming of the share that her attentive host was to have in her approaching fall,—gave him a superb snuff-box, richly set with brilliants, that had cost her husband a thousand guineas in London. Count Rantzau followed the court in its progress: in his mind he anticipated more than all the sad results that flowed from the imprudence of Struensee and Matilda: but, keeping these thoughts

close, and his countenance open, he eluded the vigilance of Struensee, Brandt, and even the lynx-eyed Lady Göhler. All the party, Rantzau excepted, were young and in the prime of life: they were all the willing slaves of voluptuousness; all engaged in amatory pursuits: and hence it is no wonder that an old experienced courtier, who felt himself thrown out by the instrument he had chosen to forward his own ambitious views, his malice sharpened by jealousy and desire of revenge, should be able to out-general the giddy, gay, and wanton train, who filled the groves with music, love, revelry, and song.

Of the rapid advancement of Struensee I shall say nothing, because the subject has been exhausted, and there is nothing new to say: I shall therefore glean together such particular facts that are no where else to be found, and which may possess sufficient interest, in the estimation of a tasteful reader, to atone for the want of historical importance.

From the time that Queen Matilda became the *associate* of Madame Göhler, Fabricius, and other ladies of their gay cast; and after the influence of Struensee had attained that marked preponderance that was sufficiently potent to banish Bernstorff and Molckte to their respective estates, and to monopolize the exercise of sovereign power, the person of Matilda, her temper, manners, principles, all seemed to undergo a total and most disadvantageous change. Notwithstanding the

daily exercise she took, either hunting, or riding on horseback, Matilda grew extremely corpulent, and was become so much taller and larger than when she arrived in Denmark in 1766, that a person who had not seen the queen for the last five years would scarcely have been able to recognise her. Matilda, in her attire, was always gay and tasteful; and on occasions truly magnificent, adopting a medium between the fashions of London and Paris. Her complexion was exquisitely fair; and it was a disadvantage to her beauty, that the fashions of the day obliged her to hide the colour and texture of her fine silver tresses under a load of powder and pomatum. Matilda looked handsome in any proper dress, and truly noble in her gala robes. In her common evening dress, she adopted that of the court of Versailles. She had a bosom such as few men could look on without emotion, or women without envy; and she displayed more of its naked charms than *strict* modesty could approve; and far more than the Danes had ever witnessed in the preceding queens, Sophia Magdalena, Louisa, or Juliana. Making no allowance for the progress of luxury and change of manners, the grave and illiberal censured the fair young queen for that which delighted the young and gay. Matilda was a resolute and fearless horsewoman. It is believed that Struensee first led her to sit across her horse, like a man: no doubt this masculine

habit, that was confined to the laboring farmers' wives and daughters, was adopted for security's sake: but it gave great and general offence to all the middling and higher classes of females. Perhaps her masculine and indelicate appearance, dressed in *leathern small-clothes*,* booted and spurred, riding across a horse, did her more injury in public opinion, amongst the elegant and cultivated of her own sex, than her undue preference of Struensee: a proof that, in an age of artificial delicacy, the want of morals may sooner hope for pardon than of decorum.

The queen grew excessively fond of hunting; and the court, in every thing magnificent, kept up three establishments; and for each of those, there was a separate uniform, on a very costly scale: the livery of which were as follows, *viz.*

The uniform for the king's stag hunt was a buff coat, light blue collar and cuffs; the coat trimmed all round with silver lace, scolloped; coat lined with blue; blue waistcoat, laced; leathern breeches; cocked-hat, laced; black cockade.

In opposition to this want of candour in which too many historians are too apt to indulge, we need only take the testimony of living witnesses, who can vouch for her imprudent conduct, and want of public decency on many occasions: a woman who could assume, and ride *en culottes* at the head of her guards, can certainly not be said to have many pretensions to female delicacy.—Vide Woff's Northern Tour, p. 81.

The uniform for the hare hunt was a green velvet coat and waistcoat; leathern breeches, brown top boots, cocked-hat, green cockade.

The falcon, or hawk hunt uniform was the most magnificent, being crimson velvet, with green cuffs and collar, trimmed with gold lace; leathern breeches; gold-laced cocked-hat; green cockade.

When Matilda rode a hunting, she was dressed at all points as a man! Her hair was dressed with less powder, and pinned up closer, but in the usual style, *i. e.* side curls, toupee, and turned up behind: she wore a dove colour beaver hat, with a deep gold band and tassels; a long scarlet coat, faced with gold all round; a buff, gold-laced waistcoat; frilled shirt, and man's neckerchief; buckskin small-clothes and spurs. That she made a noble figure mounted on a majestic steed, and dashing through the woods after the chace, her cheeks flushed with ruddy health and violent exercise, may readily be conceded: but when she walked, the charm was dissolved: her abdominal rotundity, and knees that turned too much inward, spoiled her figure, and gave her an awkward gait: the calves of her legs were of surprising circumference; her ancle large, her foot short and chubby. The king's dress was also a scarlet coat, buff waistcoat, and buckskin breeches: but so diminutive was his appearance, compared with his wife, that he looked like a stripling.

Struensee dressed in the uniform of the hunts that he attended, and was the inseparable companion of the queen, with whose person his robust figure accorded far better than that of her husband.

Although Struensee asserted, in his defence, that his only object was to promote union and affection between the king and queen, it was notorious that the king was utterly disregarded; and that, even at table, the only place where they regularly met, seldom a word passed between them; and if they met in the galleries of the palace or elsewhere, they generally passed without speaking.

Matilda grew very despotic after the elevation of Struensee. Not only were all the attendants forbidden to speak to the king on pain of arbitrary imprisonment, but also to her son, the crown prince Frederick. It happened one day at Fredericksberg palace, that the boy fell down, and cried out lustily. Struensee's favourite valet chanced to see him, and set the little fellow on his feet. Matilda and Struensee saw the transaction from the windows of the palace; and an officer was ordered by the queen to send the valet to the *Blue Tower*, a civic prison near the long bridge, where disorderly persons were confined. Thither he was sent, and there he found one of the English postillions, named William Smith, who, forgetting the royal orders, crossed a passage in the rear of the queen's

apartments leading to the stables. The queen and Struensee were there, walking arm in arm, in deep conversation. For this breach of orders he was sent to the Blue Tower, on bread and water diet, which not suiting Smith's stomach, he wrote on the wall, with a piece of charcoal, in English, the following couplet, *i. e.*

"The queen, Brandt, and Struensee,
May the devil take all the three."

Smith broke prison, and ran away: Matilda then ordered a prison-room to be fitted up at Hirscholm palace, for the confinement of her servants. It happened once that a lacquey entered a room on some occasion, when the queen was there, *expecting* Struensee: enraged at the disappointment and exposure, she caused the poor menial to be imprisoned and fed on bread and water; a diet that might have been still more proper for herself. From these sources, in spite of the terrors excited by blue towers, or strong rooms, various scandalous reports got in circulation, highly to the prejudice of the queen and Struensee.

There are plenty of views of the great palace of Christianborg to be found; by any of which, the plan of that huge and magnificent structure may be understood. It consisted of six stories above the vaults: three of those were extremely large and lofty, and dedicated to state-purposes: three smaller stories ran between, not more than eight feet high, called the *Messenin stories;* where

the state ministers and royal attendants had suites of rooms: the queen's apartments were in the grand (or east) front, on the second great story: the king's were on the same floor, but farther to the south: the royal chapel formed another division of this vast palace: a lower structure, or wing, under which was one of the entrances to this huge structure, formed a continuation of the Messenin story: Struensee's apartments were in the Messenin story, opening into the grand passage leading to the royal chapel, and next to the queen's apartments: Count Brandt's apartments were on the same story, adjoining Struensee's, but next the chapel: from Struensee's bed-room, there was a concealed staircase that led to the queen's, by means of which, if he had not been surprised in his sleep, he might have escaped.

Struensee was never appointed tutor to the crown prince; the child being only four years old when that favourite fell: but, young as he was, the prince had an aversion to Struensee that could not be subdued: no doubt, in defiance of all precautions, the attendants had told him that Struensee was a bad man: nor could his mother make him call her favourite either Graaf* or Excellentje, but always "*the Doctor*," and that with a tone of marked contempt.

Under Struensee's directions, the young prince was treated in a very hardy manner: a companion

* Count.

was assigned him, a soldier's child, whose name was *Edward;* this boy was called a prince; he was dressed in the same plain uniform as the crown prince, eat of the same dish with him, and slept on the same mattress. This experiment was made with a view to repress, in his earliest years, those exalted notions of self-importance, that had proved so fatal to his unhappy father; and it seems to have answered its intended object; as our present beloved king is universally acknowledged as the least haughty or assuming of sovereigns. These pair of little men, the pseudo, and the prince-born, frequently contended for mastery. One day, when they had fought with greater fury than usual, Frederick asked Edward how he dared raise his hand against *his* prince?—"A prince!" replied the other, "I am a prince as well as you!" "Yes, but I am crown prince," rejoined Frederick, and fell upon him again when he had owned himself conquered. Matilda hearing of this, had the little urchin sent for to her apartment, as well as his companion, insisting that he should beg pardon of Edward: Frederick refused to submit to her award, and the queen, provoked by his stubbornness, beat him severely: he was conquered, but not subdued. As he withdrew, he turned his eyes resentfully towards Struensee, and said, "I'll go to the king, my father, and tell him, who shall send that *nasty doctor* away from *you*." By means of these severities, Matilda, in his days of infancy, lost his affections; so much

so, that if he were very unruly, his attendants, perhaps as much from malignant feelings as ignorance, used to *threaten* to take him to the queen! The probability however is, that to the system thus introduced, this prince is indebted for the strength he afterwards acquired;* as previously he was a weakly, puny child; very cross and humorsome, continually crying; would not walk, but cried till he was carried; and even at two years old, the attendants, to make him quiet, used to tell him, "*Your mama shall come to you.*" To get over these hindrances to his health and intellects, Struensee, with the approbation of the queen, made a total change in the child's regimen: his food thenceforth was of the most plain and simple description, such as bread, rice, fruits, milk, vegetables, all cold: he was bathed in cold water two or three times each week; till at last, he would go of himself to the bath: the boys were very light clad; and the last winter, had neither shoes nor stockings, nor fire in their room: every thing was permitted that they could prepare or produce by their own power: if they cried for any thing they desired, it was not given them; nor were they corrected, menaced, or coaxed: if they fell, there they laid till they got up by their own help; no one was to show any concern, or say any thing about it: the crown prince and his comrade played together; in

* Vide Verantwortnung des Grafen Struensee an die Koniglicke commission, p. 97, 98, 99, &c.

dressing and in eating they assisted each other: their apartment being free from any thing whereby they could injure themselves, they were not disturbed whatever noise they made; and their solitary life soon reconciled them after their petty quarrels: both were called by their christian names only: they were accustomed to see strangers, by which means confidence and ease were acquired: his education was to commence in his sixth year; prior to which he was left to the effects of his own experience, temperate diet, and exercise: they were mostly left by themselves; by which means the fear of darkness was removed; and the attendants were forbidden to play or converse with them. After the introduction of this system, the crown prince was seldom ill; and with the exception of one or two slight indispositions, his health was uninterrupted: he had the small pox from inoculation, extremely light, and also the measles: he had acquired as much knowledge as could be expected from his tender years; could dress and undress himself without assistance; and go up and down the great staircase of the palace in a steady and careful manner; and was capable of every thing that could be expected from a child of his years: his health was improved, his temper and bad habits corrected; and the utmost care taken that his infant mind should not be inflated with vanity by adulation and high titles, through which the morals of princes are so frequently vitiated in their infancy.

It redounds to the honor of Struensee, that his enemies, paying their court to the prejudices of the most illiterate and ignorant of the people, actually made this system a capital charge against him, falsely and absurdly affirming that it endangered not only the health, but the life of the prince.

During the residence at Hirscholm palace, of Matilda and the court, in 1776, a *black* boy, introduced by Count Brandt, was constantly with the king: the presence of this youth, and the occasion of it, gave rise to many strange conjectures. After the fall of Brandt and Struensee, the young black was sent away, and heard of no more. It was remarked that the boy never looked happy, and seemed anxious to keep as far from the king as possible. The dog Gourmand, and this young negro, were the chief associates of the king.

The Empress Catherine sent a beautiful young Circassian princess, whom Potemkin captured with the grand vizir's tent at ———, as a present to Queen Matilda. She was placed in the queen's apartments, with the ladies of her chamber: after the fall of Matilda, this young foreigner was sent back to the Russian court: she was very wild and gay, and about fifteen years of age.

At Hirscholm, Struensee generally breakfasted in the queen's apartment: the table was spread with a profusion of dried meats, eggs, and other substantial food; as well as tea, coffee, and chocolate. The queen generally made a hearty breakfast.

Wherever the court resided, it was a scene of sensuality in every shape. Before the queen and suite set out hunting, a hot *luncheon* was served up in the apartment called the Rose, where the great officers of state, and foreigners of distinction, dined. This consisted, not of gew-gaws, but of substantial dishes of meat, game, soups, fish, and pasties.

Struensee generally took his breakfast and luncheon in the queen's apartment; sometimes, a dish of chocolate or coffee in his own room, but not frequently. The king was served in his own apartment, and was considered of little more importance than his dog Gourmand, or his negro-boy.

A few of the ladies followed the example of the queen, dressed in the same uniform as the gentlemen, and rode across as they did: others under a riding habit, wore small-clothes and top boots, and sat sideways on their horses. Nothing could be more licentious than the court of Matilda in 1770 and 1771: her palace was a temple of pleasure, of which she was the high-priestess: every thing was found there calculated to excite and gratify sensual desires. A modest woman, or a decent man, would have been laughed out of countenance. The queen was not then, as heretofore, generally beloved; she grew harsh and imperious towards her women; who were mostly young voluptuaries, for with such Struensee and Brandt filled the court; and indeed,

no respectable lady would be seen there. With those young, blooming, immodest women, the pampered domestics belonging to Queen Matilda, and to Counts Struensee and Brandt, used to associate. They too, had their balls, masquerades, concerts and *conversationes*, wherein decency or restraint were alike unseen. The vices of their voluptuous superiors were implicitly adopted, their manners aped, infirmities ridiculed, and their most secret transactions exposed.* Within three days of Matilda's being put to bed of the princess Louisa, namely, on the 4th July 1771, she rode out on horseback: the horse plunged and kicked, till he backed into a dry ditch; when Matilda, sitting firm and undismayed, flogged and spurred the restive animal till she conquered, and rode home unhurt. She was delivered of a daughter† at this palace; to which the queen dowager Juliana, and Prince Frederick, stood sponsors: an act of courtesy intended to lull the suspicions of her intended victims, for the indiscretions of Matilda were all reported to her, perhaps with exaggerations; and at this early period, means were in contemplation to destroy Struensee, Brandt, and the rank and power of the queen.

* "The poor queen of Denmark was certainly very imprudent. I learn she would even appear in full court in breeches, and the northern nations are rigid in the bienseance."—*Walpoliana*, vol. ii. p. 93.

† Louisa Augusta, who was married to the late Prince of Augustenburg.

There was, perhaps, no court in Europe, where more respect was shewn to foreign ministers, or their conveniency more studied, than in Denmark. At Hirscholm, two days in the week, they dined at the king's, or rather *the queen's* table. On their return from the drawing-room to their respective apartments, they found a ticket on their dressing-table, specifying where they were to dine; some at the king's table; others at the lord chamberlain's, in the chamber called the Rose.

The usual number that sat down to dinner* at the king's table, was twelve: alternately five ladies and seven gentlemen, or seven ladies and five gentlemen. The king cut a wretched figure on these occasions: not so the queen, who dressed very superbly, and made a noble and splendid appearance. The king and queen were served on gold plate, by noble pages; the marshal of the palace sat at the foot of the latter; the chief lady of the household, at the head; the company, a lady and gentleman alternately, opposite to the king and queen.

A table of eighty covers was provided every day in the Rose for the great officers of state, who were served on silver plate: at this table, Struensee, Brandt, their friends and favorites, male and female, used to dine. The courtiers paid Struensee as much homage as they used to

* The dinner hour was seven o'clock.

pay to the king. His carriage was much changed: he grew haughty and imperious; more and more magnificent in dress and equipage: but was that to be wondered at? Where is the man who could endure such a flood of good fortune unchanged? A common mind may bear adversity with firmness: but show me the man that can conduct himself with humility and forbearance under a long course of the highest possible prosperity, and I will own he is great, truly great.

Long before the fatal catastrophe in which Count Rantzau bore so conspicuous a part, that noblemen strove to moderate the conduct of Struensee. Of the nature of the connexion of the latter with the queen, he was at no loss to guess; and he was well informed relative to the treatment of the king, for whose life he entertained serious apprehensions: the attendants, by their shrugs and shaking of their heads, spread reports more unfavorable than if they had openly told all they knew. It was reported in the palace that Brandt intended to murder the king, in order that the queen might be regent during the minority of her son. Nor can I dismiss from my mind a belief in the reality of such a design having been entertained. Struensee had already committed the next greatest crime to murder; he was in possession of the *sovereign power;* of course he wished to retain it, and he knew, as long as the king lived, he should be continually exposed to punishment: it is therefore consistent with

human nature to suppose, that he would rather consent to put a period to the animal existence of a wretched being who was politically and physically dead, than see Matilda hurled from the throne, and himself consigned to the scaffold.

The letters written by Count Rantzau* to Brandt, sufficiently testify the reality of the suspicions of the former, respecting the designs of the latter against the king's life. Of the intention to deprive the king of his life, the party accused was probably guilty; but of legal proof there was none; the law was shamefully strained; and if I cannot esteem Brandt as an innocent man, in the moral acceptation of the term, he certainly was judicially murdered.

Count Rantzau expostulated with Struensee, as far as he judged it was prudent: if he had gone further, he would have been ordered to his estate, and of course been too far off the king to render him any assistance in the hour of peril. He was never friendly to the views of Juliana Maria; he would far rather have seen Matilda at the head of the government, if she had not, in an unguarded moment, thrown herself and the sovereignty too, into the hands of Struensee. Count Rantzau would have served the queen, if he had seen the least prospect of doing so effectually; but he was too cautious a courtier to venture his life and character in support of a man of so little

* See Appendix.

prudence as Struensee possessed: and whose conduct, in the case of the mutiny of the Norwegian seamen, in October, 1771, confirmed the suspicions entertained respecting his total want of personal courage. He was then so vehemently alarmed, that his pusillanimity made Matilda blush. Afraid of the approaching tempest, he implored the queen to allow him to depart the kingdom, as the only means of saving his life or hers. She looked at him with ineffable scorn, and told him to flee from her whom he had deprived of character and friends, abandoned to the mercy of her foes. The bitterness with which she reviled Struensee on this occasion, and her constant opposition to his wishes of withdrawing, are supposed to have had considerable weight in producing the confessions made after his arrest, that criminated the unfortunate queen. The haughty, violent temper of Matilda, whose mind was constantly perturbed, rendered her less amiable in Struensee's eyes, than she, on their first private interview, appeared at Travendahl; and the want of courage in Struensee, made her, who was a heroine, look on him with contempt: so true it is that there can be no steady friendship that has its foundation laid in vice.

The queen dowager, Juliana Maria, now began to shew herself again; her hopes once more revived; she saw with secret delight, the embers of discontent glowing in every quarter of the kingdom; and if she could not procure

the crown for her son Frederick, now in his nineteenth year, she hoped, during the life of Christian the Seventh, to attain the sole exercise of sovereign power.

She affected to feel the utmost commiseration for the king, and fear for his safety. Her agents industriously spread alarming reports as to the designs of '*the doctor's cabal*,' as Struensee's partisans were ironically called. She bore the most deadly hatred towards Count Rantzau: but finding he was violently enraged against Struensee and Brandt, Juliana employed her confidant, Guldberg, to sound him; giving the strictest charge to impress on the count, that it was not for political power she was seeking, but to save the life of the king; and that she should advise the establishment of a council, consisting of Count Rantzau, and the principal old nobility, to govern the state. She never hinted one word as to any intention of proceeding criminally against Matilda. Juliana was an adept in dissimulation; and in this difficult negociation, she exceeded all former transactions of a treacherous nature. Neither Matilda nor her guilty favorite, felt tranquil: it was impossible but innumerable occurrences must have reminded her of her danger, and filled her conscious bosom with the most gloomy apprehensions.

When she travelled, or went out in the woods, Matilda was constantly attended by running

footmen.* One of those gaudy appendages of royalty detected Matilda and Struensee in a situation that admitted of no misconstruction. † Soon afterwards Juliana Maria paid an evening visit to Matilda at Hirscholm. She travelled by torch light, and was attended by Chamberlain Blucher.‡

* They were usually apprenticed seven years; and performed astonishing feats of activity and strength, and would commonly leap a six-barred gate without touching. Queen Matilda would suffer them to run before her carriage all the way to Hirscholm, a distance of fifteen English miles, without rest: this they performed in *two hours!* Sometimes she would let them get up behind her coach, but not often. Their livery was very costly, with plates of gold in their caps: they had pensions when they grew old. Struensee had two, and ten other servants; he changed his liveries three times, as he was advanced; the last was green velvet: his running footmen wore buff jackets, sea-green scarf, green velvet caps, with a plate of solid gold with Struensee's crest embossed on the front.

† "Of her (Matilda's) intimate connexion with her favorite minister, there seems not to be the shadow of a doubt. It was one of the chief articles in the impeachment of Struensee;—not denied by him, and partially confessed by herself. I have heard one of her pages assert, "that whilst playing in the knight's saloon in the palace, he accidentally fell against a concealed door in the wall," (no doubt under the hangings) "which, leading to a long passage, discovered the queen and her paramour tête à tête, to their no small surprise and mortification."—*Wolff's Northern Summer*, p. 81.

‡ A blood relation to Marshal Blucher. The then chamberlain is, or recently was, living at Altena. An elderly gentleman of this name, and office, probably the same individual, is mentioned in the *Northern Tour*, p. 98.

This was the last visit she ever paid Matilda, and its insidious object was, during the bustle occasioned by her arrival, to afford Blucher an opportunity of gathering what information he could from treacherous attendants, relative to the proceedings of '*the doctor's cabal.*' She stopped only a short time; but her behaviour to the reigning queen was more than ever flattering and kind; yet, not four hours before, with well dissembled sorrow, she had expressed her abhorrence of the utter depravity of Matilda, whom she affected to consider as a woman lost to every sense of honor or decency!

The court lingered at Fredericksborg, apparently unwilling to venture into Copenhagen until the regiment of Falkenskjöld* should have arrived, which was intended to have relieved the foot guards. Matilda and Struensee saw themselves beset on every side with the most pressing dangers. Their frequent consultations usually terminated in the hope of some favorable contingency removing the source of their apprehensions, but without being able to adopt any specific remedy.

Whilst dismay reigned in the palace of Matilda, confidence and hope enlivened the coun-

* General Falkenskjold, colonel of the regiment of Zealand, was a man of very arbitrary, haughty, and over-bearing manners; he was about 45 years of age, tall and well made; full six feet high; he lived in lodgings in Copenhagen.

tenance of Juliana at Fredensborg. Count Rantzau had joined her party. The high rank, talent, and courage of Rantzau, rendered the acquisition invaluable. They met in Copenhagen; Juliana having, to favour her machinations, entered the city before Matilda. After their first compliments were over, Juliana said, "Struensee dabbles in half measures, and he will inevitably fall: he should have ordered me to reside at Fredensborg, and have sent your excellency to Aschberg." On this interview, Struensee and Brandt were destined to destruction: The queen dowager, however, pledged her word of honor not to attempt any thing against the personal safety of the reigning queen. As soon as Rantzau was gone, Prince Frederick, who had been very reserved during the interview, asked his mother, how she could behave so friendly to a man towards whom her heart was filled with so much enmity? "Because I wish to ruin him," was her laconic reply.

That which accelerated the blow that levelled Struensee with the dust, was the ring that Rantzau had given to Christian the Seventh at Aschberg. It was returned to the count by Colonel Kohler Banner. "The king has sent you this," said he, "and claims the performance of your promise." Rantzau seized the token, and laying his hand upon his sword, said to the colonel, "Inform my king, if in your power, that

my life and fortune are at his service." Count Rantzau, was in his heart, true and loyal to the king: Colonel Banner, a partisan of Juliana.

As the decisive moment approached, rumours of the foulest kind were circulated every hour, directed against Queen Matilda and her ministers: the life of the king was said to be in jeopardy, and Count Brandt was accused of beating and horse-whipping his sovereign. Christian the Seventh was once the darling of the people: the licentious conduct of Matilda and her court, had lost her the respect of the best class of people, and rendered the lower class furious in their hatred of her, and her devoted minion. She was called "the great w———," and Christianborg "the great b———y house." All their former affection for their king returned; and even Juliana became in some measure popular, because in her they recognized the enemy of Matilda, Struensee, and Brandt. How changed was the scene within six short years, when the cruel Juliana was execrated, and driven into retirement; and the young and fair Matilda the object of love and reverence, and greeted with acclamation wherever she appeared! Yet was Juliana incomparably more guilty than the reigning queen, since to her deadly malice the frailties and the vices of Christian were imputable; and if Matilda had had a man for her husband, possessed of common sense, and a sound body, in

all probability she would have gone through life without reproach or disgrace.

Although the accounts published in Germany and England are radically erroneous in many important particulars; yet the statement that the French and Swedish ministers warned Struensee of his danger from the machinations of Rantzau and Kohler Banner are perfectly correct.* But so well was Struensee aware of the rooted antipathy that Rantzau cherished in his bosom towards Juliana, he could not persuade himself any possible circumstance could induce him to support her party; and without Rantzau's help, and as long as he remained master of the king's person, Struensee flattered himself his power could not be overthrown. The work so ably translated by Mr. Latrobe is also extremely unjust to the memory of Count Rantzau, with whose motives and character the author was evidently unacquainted, or determined to traduce: he even acknowledges that Rantzau, not long before the catastrophe took place, waited upon Struensee, and remonstrated with him on the state of affairs, and that "Struensee met his arguments with objections; his protestations of candour with thanks; and *his warnings* with the usual *smile of contempt* of a short-sighted mind." Yet, he accuses Rantzau of a want of sincerity, and to complete his own blunders, stigmatises him—*as a coward!*

* Vide Latrobe, p. 156, 157, 158.

Count Rantzau's character for courage and generosity; the splendor of his name, and influence over the soldiery, far more than the example of either Kohler Banner or Eichstedt, determined the subaltern officers and troops to support an attempt that they were taught to believe was called for by their captive monarch. Early in the morning of the 17th January, 1772, Rantzau shewed them the ring that Kohler Banner had brought to him, and told them, with powerful emotion, when he had put that ring on the finger of their king. It was this circumstance that principally determined their conduct. Rantzau seeing that their feelings were powerfully moved, sent a trusty messenger to Juliana to tell her to be prepared at two a o'clock: and having posted the troops as he thought most prudent, he led a detachment into the interior of the palace to release the king, and arrest the queen Matilda, Struensee and Brandt; whilst measures were taken to secure the brothers of Struensee, and all his principal adherents who resided in the city.

An enterprize more hazardous could scarcely be conceived; and nothing but the consummate prudence, courage, and address which Count Rantzau displayed on this trying occasion, could have carried it into execution. The count had pledged his word of honor to the king to hasten to his aid at the hour of peril; and his king had claimed the performance of that engagement: but his intellects were so feeble, and he was known to be so

completely awed by the discipline to which he had long been subjected, that it was not at all improbable he should either totally forget, or disown, what he had done! In case of failure, an ignominious death awaited Rantzau; and if successful, he was well aware that it was too probable that the *sovereignty* would be transferred to Juliana, that he was about to wrest for ever from the unsteady hand of the voluptuous Struensee. Count Rantzau did not risk himself by any communication with the troops till the moment of action had arrived:—Juliana, like a tygress, was waiting in breathless anxiety the eventful moment: Kohler Banner and Eichstedt were employed in receiving the reports brought by Guldberg, and watching the residence of the rest of the destined victims: Matilda, Struensee, and Brandt, exhausted by pleasure, had sunk into profound repose, from which they were to be awakened to behold the frightful abyss that yawned to receive them.

On the night of the 16th of January, a ball and masquerade was given by the court. Matilda, magnificently dressed, and full of spirits, danced with Count Struensee, also with Prince Frederick, and conversed with his treacherous, black-hearted mother, who seemed more than usually civil and attentive. As soon as count Rantzau appeared, the queen dowager and her son watched with intent gaze, every glance of his eye, and every step he took. As he passed the king,

Rantzau bowed, but did not offer to approach: the king laughed, began jumping about, and ran to his friend Gourmand, that lay stretched on a magnificent sofa. Patting him on the head, the king said aloud, "*Min fortrorligste ven,*" *i. e.* "*My most trusty of friends.*" Rantzau fully understood the meaning of this signal, and felt his confidence reassured: but again and again was his heart ready to burst as he looked at the queen, at Struensee, at Brandt, and reflected on the horrors in which a few short hours would involve them. There was however no room for compromise or parley; the die must be cast, and he abide the issue! The ball was closed by the queen and Prince Frederick: the queen, attended by Struensee, retired to her apartments for the last time! Struensee must have gone to the queen's room; for there his white bear skin cloak was found a few hours after. She must have descended by means of the secret staircase to Struensee's apartment, where the guilty pair had their last tête à tête, and separated never to meet again.

The young Norwegian valet whom Matilda had imprisoned in the Blue Tower, for helping the crown prince to get up when he had tumbled, slept in an anti-room, adjoining his master's, Count Struensee: he was laid down on a sofa, waiting to undress his master. It must be supposed that at such a crisis this intelligent young man saw and heard enough to convince him, that from secret conspiracy, or open insurrection, his master was in

imminent danger; to which causes the singular dream he had at that critical moment, was probably owing; for whilst the queen and Struensee were enjoying the last few moments that fate allotted those guilty victims of unhallowed passion should pass together, the valet, dreamt that he saw Godsckau, the state executioner, embracing Struensee, whose features bespoke the utmost horror and agony: presently he saw Queen Matilda dressed most magnificently, with Struensee by her side, seated under a canopy of state: then his wandering imagination carried him to the custom-house stairs, and he thought he saw the queen Matilda, Struensee, Brandt, Lady Göhler, and the principal persons attached to the court, approaching in a magnificent barge, which in a moment went to pieces, and the persons in it seemed lost, or struggling with the waves; amongst them he saw Matilda, who screamed aloud, "Save me! save me! Struensee drags me down!" The young valet, full of horror, stretched out his arm to reach her amongst the wreck; when the bell above his head was rung. He suddenly awoke, his cheeks wet with the tears he had shed; his limbs still shook, and he trembled as he obeyed the call to undress his master. Just as he entered Struensee's room, he heard the private door shut, and also the retiring step of Matilda, who had just left the count; who, surprised at the affright and dismay so visible on his face, said, "Ernestus! what ails you; what has alarmed you?" The poor fellow

could scarcely speak till a flood of tears came to his relief. Apprehensive he might faint away, Struensee took his hand and felt his pulse, which was high and throbbing; to compose which he took up a small silver-mounted medicine case that stood under the table, and gave the valet some drops in a glass of water, which presently revived him. The count was still in the masquerade dress in which he had returned from the French theatre, where it had been held, which was within the walls of Christianborg: he looked remarkably well. His face flushed with health and pleasure; and his fine hair rather dishevelled. As the valet undressed him, he asked what dream had frightened him so much? Ernestus remained silent: the count repeated his request; when, dropping the executioner, and the queen's exclamation, Ernestus told the rest. Struensee smiled, and appeared thoughtful; but presently he said, "You must go and see Mademoiselle —— in the morning; and her handsome face will soon set all to rights again."* Struensee, as was his custom, after he had lain down, took his book in his hand to read himself asleep.† His valet, having a master-key, locked the door on the outside, and retired to his own bed. His sleep was,

* This was a gay young lady, belonging to Matilda's train, whose hair the young valet had dressed previous to her appearing at court; and with whom Ernestus was supposed to stand in high favor.

† Pope's Abelard and Eloisa.

however, still perturbed and unsound; he thought he heard strange voices, and the footsteps of many persons passing and re-passing; at last he distinctly heard some one endeavoring to open, as it were with an iron instrument, the outer door of his room. His terrors now became realities: he leaped out of bed and approached the door to listen to those without; but softly as he moved, his steps were heard, and in a low voice, he was commanded in the king's name, to open the door on pain of instant death. It is not wonderful that the young man, instead of alarming his master, obeyed this formidable summons, and gave admittance to his enemies: in an instant, but yet without noise or tumult, colonel Kohler Banner,* dressed in full uniform, being red turned up with black, with two inferior officers, and captain Dissentin, of the Norwegian regiment, stept within: two soldiers held each a cocked pistol to his head, and another pointed a second to his breast; whilst the colonel, bearing a wax taper in his hand, anxiously, yet softly exclaimed—"*Have you awoke the count?*" "I have not:" "You are sure of that? remember, you are a state prisoner: and your life pays the forfeit, if you tell me falsehoods." The colonel then went to the door

* Colonel Kohler Banner used to pay the utmost homage to Count Struensee, and frequently assisted at his ministerial dinners. He was, at that time, the secret agent of Juliana and Guldberg. In his person he was about five feet ten inches high; middle aged; dark complexion, and cursed with a base and treacherous heart.

of Struensee's room:* finding it fast, he said to the valet, "Have you a key?" "Yes, your excellency, I have a master-key." "Then open the door as softly as possible." Ernestus obeyed, and Colonel Banner was the first that entered, the valet by his side: there were three inferior officers, each with a drawn sword in his right, and a wax light in his left hand. The count slept so soundly that he did

* Count Struensee's apartment was furnished in a style of regal magnificence: the mirrors were large and of the purest glass; the most common utensils of silver, or silver gilt. The royal suite of rooms above the *Messenin story* (*i. e.* entré sal) were of extraordinary height, by which means the Messenin story (middle stories) were necessarily very low: thus Count Struensee's and Brandt's rooms were only eight feet high. Count Struensee's bed-room was hung with rich figured damask: the furniture of his bed, and of the windows, were purple velvet richly trimmed with deep gold fringe: the canopy was formed in the shape of a royal crown. Between his magnificent dressing-table and the foot of his superb bed, covered by the costly hangings, was a concealed door that opened to a staircase leading to the queen's apartment; by which means, unknown to their attendants, they could visit each other. Struensee was particularly nice in his person and dress, and used the most costly perfumes profusely.—His valet slept in an anti-room through which lay the way to the count's bed-chamber: the valet's bed furniture was magnificent, being sky-blue silk trimmed with silver lace and fringe: it was concealed by a superb screen. A bell was hung over this bed, the pull to which was in the count's room. There was a secret closet in this room, also concealed by the hangings, in which Ernestus had presence of mind to throw *some papers* and other articles before he opened the door to Colonel Kohler Banner. After the execution of the unfortunate Struensee, the faithful valet found means to get into the room he had formerly occupied, where he found the papers safe; which, had they been discovered by his enemies, would have at once criminated more than one captive.

not awake with all this noise, and blaze of tapers. He was lying upon his right side, his head upon his arm. The book he had been reading lay on the floor. After a moment's pause, during which Kohler Banner stood gazing sternly on the unconscious culprit, he approached, and touching Struensee on the shoulder, awoke him to all the horrors of sudden and sure perdition!*

His consternation may be much easier conceived than described. Suddenly he rose half up, and wild with terror, said, "What's all this: in God's name, what is all this about?"—Colonel Kohler Banner, in a loud and stern voice, answered him, "You are the king's prisoner: behold the royal warrant for your arrest.† You must dress yourself without delay and come with me." "You will allow me to find clothes to dress with?" said

* The queen and Struensee returned to Christianborg palace, where Juliana and all the royal family had apartments; and where, in case of an insurrection, they were likely to be taken or massacred. To save appearances, they waited for Falkenskjöld's regiment, when general Eichstedt's dragoons, and Colonel Kohler Banner's infantry regiment, could have been removed; and then the devoted pair intended to have set out on a tour through the duchies of Sleiswick and Holstein: the delay was fatal: had their intentions been executed, it might have proved so to the unfortunate Christian the Seventh. *Editor.*

† The account translated by Latrobe, is radically false in many important particulars respecting the arrest of Struensee; which errors have been successively copied into almost every work published since that time. Colonel Kohler Banner positively did not seize the count by the throat, nor shake him; and he had in his hand the king's warrant for Struensee's arrest

Struensee: Banner then permitted the valet to go to his master's wardrobe, who hastily snatched a light blue morning frock, with round cuffs, that had been made in London, of Manchester velvet, and a waistcoat of the same;* but such was his confusion, he could not find any small-clothes, and the count was forced to put on the pair of *pink*-coloured breeches† which he had worn at the masquerade. It was a cold wintery morning, and his valet, who felt as much for his master as for himself, asked the colonel to allow him to go with a guard to the queen's room for the count's fur cloak:‡ Captain Dissentin accompanied him,

* The unfortunate count went to the place of execution dressed in those same clothes.

† Jens Wolffe, Esq. consul general in London, was the chief of an opulent and long-established commercial firm; which was ultimately overwhelmed by national misfortunes that could neither be foreseen by their victims nor prevented. He was deservedly respected for benevolence of heart, public spirit, and high endowments. The editor regrets having to notice the errors that through inadvertence have crept into the pages of such a writer. Mr. Wolffe collected his materials relative to the catastrophe in question, full *forty years* subsequent to its occurrence. To that circumstance, and to the want of better information in his informants, the string of errors that appear in pages 84 and 85 are imputable. The story of Count Struensee reproaching his valet relative to a *pelisse*, and the *vriessche rok*, *i. e.* blanket coat, are totally groundless. If Mr. Wolffe were to make a farther inquiry, he would be convinced of having been deceived.

‡ In Latrobe's translation it is implied that Struensee had been arrested and sent to prison before the queen was arrested: but this fact proves the contrary; and that the queen was first taken into custody.

bearing a torch in one hand, and a drawn sword in the other. Count Rantzau* and General Eichstedt† were there, with several inferior military officers, bearing swords and tapers in their hands. Rantzau, and all the officers, were uncovered. His appearance denoted excessive mental agitation. Probably his mental sufferings were intense as those of his royal victim. The queen, who appeared almost as tall and robust as the count, was standing with her back towards him; and one of her women was then lacing her stays. When the queen heard the well-known voice of Struensee's valet, she turned towards him, and said, "Tell your master to emulate his queen, and repel insult with scorn and defiance." Her face was greatly flushed; her

* At this period (1772) Count Rantzau was about sixty years of age; his features were good; complexion florid; and when young, he must have been very handsome: he had a slight cast in his eyes; he was near six feet high; his hair was become grey through age; but to hide that *unyouthful* mark, the old beau used black pomatum, *i. e.* pomatum thickened with hair-powder burnt black. His manners were highly polished:—when he arrested the young queen, he had on a scarlet surtout lined and trimmed with fur; a commander in chief's regimental coat beneath, red turned up with buff; his under dress was silk.

† General Eichstedt was merely a creature of Juliana's: he had not one bright or amiable trait in his character; but was coarse in his manner; and speaking comparatively, illiterate. In his person he was rather short and stout; about forty years of age; arbitrary towards all beneath him; towards the queen dowager, her son, and Count Rantzau, fawning and servile. He lived in 1772 in the Kol Torvet. He commanded the regiment of dragoons, a company of which escorted the unfortunate Matilda to Cronenborg Castle.

features distorted by rage and grief; and her fine tresses, all in disorder, floated round her bosom, reaching below her waist; her female attendants looked like pale pictures of despair:—the valet gazed mournfully: he was about to reply, when Count Rantzau fiercely exclaimed, "Silence! if you speak, you die!" The young man, dismayed and confounded, bowed humbly to the queen, as he was hurried back to his master, whom he found dressed, and greatly agitated. Perceiving that his valet had nothing on but his shirt and small-clothes,* he said to Colonel Kohler Banner, "Why is my poor servant thus kept naked? in God's name, let him have his clothes:" upon which he was permitted to dress; and whilst Colonel Banner and his officers were hurrying Struensee to the guard-room, where Brandt had already arrived, the valet contrived to take up his master's gold English repeater; his ring and brooch, both of diamonds of great value, the gifts of the queen;† and also the purse

* The anxiety shewn by Count Struensee relative to his valet was occasioned by seeing him stand nearly undressed in a cold winter's morning. Perhaps it was this circumstance, imperfectly remembered, that led to the mistakes that are mentioned in a preceding note. It was a striking feature in this sad spectacle, that a valet half dressed went to the chamber of the queen, and saw her in the same state; her room full of military officers!

† The repeater was of the most superb and costly kind, set round with a double row of brilliants: with the chains and seals, it was worth three hundred pounds. The diamond ring and brooch cost *fifteen hundred guineas!*

that the count had laid on the table near his bedside, containing about eighty gold ducats: those he secured, as he thought for the benefit of his master. In a few minutes he was called below: there he saw the guard-room blazing with tapers; and the two state prisoners, who were kept separate. Presently two hackney coaches drove up to the door: Struensee, accompanied by officers armed with loaded pistols and drawn swords, was put into the first coach, and Brandt into the second. Escorted by a strong party of dragoons, the cavalcade proceeded from Christianborg palace, over the Hoëy Bro, (High Bridge) along the Stora Stradet, Kongens Nye Torv, and Norgen Gaden, to the citadel. Here the two prisoners were confined in separate rooms belonging to the officers; and two officers, who were relieved every two hours, were constantly in the room, and two sentinels outside the door. During their progress to the citadel through the principal parts of the city, Struensee wept, wrung his hands, and shewed the utmost grief and despondency; whilst the companion of his misfortunes, though not the witness of his weakness, Count Brandt,* displayed that high spirit which

* Count Enevold Brandt was descended from a noble, though not a titled family. He was a far superior character to Struensee, and if he had been the favored lover, in all probability he might have avoided the fate that befel his friend Struensee, whose greatest misfortune was his being a *foreigner*. Count Brandt, in person, was moderately tall, light made; a fine military figure; he was greatly marked by the small pox; his eyes, hair, and complexion dark;

never forsook him; not even when Godsckau, the executioner, laid his hands upon him, to mutilate his body and take his life.

lively and gay to an extreme; he dressed with great elegance; was munificent and generous; a general lover, and the idol of the ladies of Matilda's giddy court. The portrait, given in the Conversion of Struensee, is a wretched performance, not at all resembling the animated and voluptuous original.

## CHAP. VII.

*Critical situation of Juliana Maria, Count Rantzau, and the other conspirators.—The courage of Queen Matilda.—Cowardice of Struensee.—A singular riot: its source developed.—The execution of Brandt and Struensee.*

IN the arrest of the queen, Count Rantzau had occasion for all his fortitude and presence of mind. Difficulties beset him every step he moved: when he reached the king's bed-room, the glare of the tapers, alarming him as he awoke, seemed to have driven all recollection of Rantzau from his mind; whilst, the sight of the queen dowager and her son, called to the king's remembrance that inbred dread and hatred which he had ever felt towards them: he turned, with marks of fierce resentment and strong aversion, from that insidious and cruel woman, then kneeling by his bed-side. Count Rantzau saw the peril he was in; and the alarm of the queen dowager and her son was such that they seemed petrified with horror. The count motioned them to retire from the bed-side; and then approaching, he told the king that he had obeyed his orders, and rushed to his

assistance; "My death, sire," said he, "which will be the sure result of your indecision, concerns me less than the fate which may befal your majesty after I am gone." Weak and irresolute, the king kept saying, "What can I do! what can I do!" "To save your life, sire, you must order Struensee and Brandt into arrest." After a few minutes pause, during which he repeated the same ejaculations as before, the king signed those instruments that Guldberg* had prepared. The destiny of the reigning queen had occasioned long discussions between Juliana Maria and the count; the former being eager to proceed against her with every possible severity; whilst Count Rantzau as firmly refused to have any thing to do with the business if the queen dowager acted as though personal aggrandisement, and the gratification of

* M. Guldberg, then about forty years of age, was to Juliana, perhaps, what Struensee was to Matilda; but Juliana was an arch dissembler, and Guldberg was steady and discreet. Like Struensee, he was of plebeian extraction, and the son of a Norwegian clergyman: he had served in the church at Roeskild. He possessed many good, and some amiable qualities; which, joined to his learning and talents, procured him the appointment of tutor to Prince Frederick, son to Juliana; a step that led to the confidence he afterwards enjoyed with that princess. He was devoted to study and business. During Struensee's short-lived greatness, M. Guldberg was a frequent visitor, perhaps a treacherous guest. After the fall of Struensee, he rose upon his ruins, and became a minister of state. It was rather singular that he married two sisters, the daughters of a miller at Fredensborg. After his dismissal, on the 28th March, 1784, by the son of Matilda, he was allowed a pension of 4,500 crowns per annum, and remained high steward to his patron, prince Frederick.

vengeful feelings, were the only objects she had in view. Finding Rantzau resolute, the queen dowager assented to every thing that he proposed, being secretly determined to humble him as soon as he should have put it in her power. Guldberg, Eichstedt, Kohler Banner, like zealous partisans, supported the wishes of the queen dowager; and they urged Count Rantzau to consider the destruction that Queen Matilda might bring upon them all if she were left at liberty; nor did they forget to urge the danger there was of Matilda falling a victim to popular fury, as soon as Struensee and Brandt, with their cabal, (as these conspirators called the partisans of Matilda,) should be overthrown. Rantzau gave these arguments due consideration; and, partly to prevent Matilda from assisting her favorites, and no less for her own personal safety during the hurricane that was approaching, he at last agreed to her arrest and temporary confinement.

To bring the king to this point was necessary to their safety, but also very likely to be refused. Rantzau insisted that the queen dowager and her son should accompany him to the king's apartment: this was done to prevent that guileful woman from sacrificing him to her safety in case of failure; and her hated presence had the effect already described. It was probable that Christian never loved Matilda; and quite certain, that he feared her more than any human being besides. When, therefore, Rantzau presented the

warrant for the arrest of the queen, he took every possible pains to convince the wavering and irresolute king, that the temporary arrest of his consort was as requisite for her safety as for the safety of the state. Christian threw the paper from him with considerable emotion; and if at that moment Matilda had appeared in his presence, there is no doubt but the guards would have led the queen dowager and her son, Rantzau, Guldberg, Eichstedt, and Kohler Banner, to the dungeons intended for their foes: but she was absent at whose glance the puerile king would have drooped his head, and the soldiers laid down their arms! After long hesitation, and after his fears had been awakened of her being torn in pieces by the infuriated populace, the arguments of Rantzau prevailed, and the fate of the unhappy queen was sealed. These were the real causes of the arrest of Queen Matilda; whose personal conduct under the dreadful reverse that awaited her, is detailed with tolerable correctness in the German work that was translated by Latrobe; and which created so strong a sensation in Great Britain.

The queen, like the Cherokee chief, though overpowered was not subdued. The king had kept them dallying so long, that Rantzau was afraid day-light would appear, before he should be able to get the queen removed. Matilda heard him say to Eichstedt, "We must make haste; it will soon be day:" and turning suddenly upon him, in

a firm emphatic manner, she said, "Miserable man, well may you dread the light! The deed of this night will for ever blacken your fame. Your fall will quickly follow mine. My errors will be obliterated by my sufferings: the fair and the brave, the mild and the virtuous, will shed a tear over my sad destiny; whilst thou shalt perish unpitied, and be followed to thy tomb with execration. March! detested, hoary-headed traitor! lead me to my dungeon: lead me any where, so that mine eyes are spared thy hated presence!"

The count heard her with profound silence, and laying his hand on his bosom, said aloud, "Madam, your reproaches I do not feel, because I know I do not deserve them. I was called by my king to come to his aid; and so may God judge and deal with me, as I speak truth when I aver my bosom is free from revenge, and filled with ardent wishes for your majesty's present safety and future happiness." Scarcely half dressed, and wrapped up in a large roquelaure, looking with a stern indifference on the surrounding officers, she descended to the gate; where a coach and four, surrounded by a strong body of dragoons, were waiting to escort her to Cronenborg castle. Count Rantzau, bare headed, attended her to the coach. Just as she sat her foot on the steps, the enraged queen, as her last benediction, struck the count a violent slap with her open hand on his cheek, exclaiming, "Take this, thou accursed traitor; and remember, this treason shall cost

thee thy head!" The count, who must have felt very uncomfortable, made her a profound bow as the door was closed; and said, loud enough to be heard by all around, "I am no traitor, madam; I fear God, I love and honor the king, and wish your majesty a good journey." The word of command being given, the escort set off. An officer with a drawn sword sat opposite to the queen, who looked round her with a smile of contempt, mingled with despair. The light of numerous torches, the glare of brandished swords, the prancing of the steeds, the rattle of the coach, above all, the spectacle of a young queen thus treated, formed a subject interesting to the painter or the poet, and never to be forgotten by those by whom it was beheld. When this high-spirited woman first entered the vast portals of that stupendous structure that now, partly shrouded in darkness, frowned on her fallen fortunes, how little did she dream of this terrible reverse! As the escort passed the portals of Copenhagen, her heart began to sink, that heretofore had been sustained in that terrible scene by pride and indignation. When she passed Hirschholm palace, she was observed to wrap her face in her large veil and roquelaure; her bosom heaved, and in spite of her efforts, she sobbed audibly, and clasped her hands together. The only consolation her misery received was the vicinity of her infant daughter, for which she was indebted to the firmness of Count Rantzau, whose sufferings and mor-

tifications endured this day were scarcely to have been indemnified, even by the crown of Denmark.* He felt dissatisfied with himself: the bitterness of the queen's taunts, as well as her prophecies of his speedy fall, sunk deep into his mind. The wretched imbecility of the king; the fawning de-

* The following account of the queen's conduct is taken from the translation of the work of an anonymous German author before-mentioned.

"Count Rantzau and Colonel Eichstedt went with some officers to the apartment of the queen, who, alarmed by the noise in her anti-chamber, called her women, and in the paleness of their countenances read their fear. She enquired what had happened, and was at length told that Count Rantzau, in her anti-chamber, demanded to speak with her on the part of the king. She expressed in the most affecting manner her grief, her apprehension that she was betrayed and ruined, and her resignation. Then, acquiring fortitude, she went half dressed to Rantzau, who read the order of the king, which she heard with firmness and without interrupting him. Being still unable to give credit to it, she read it herself without betraying any mark of fear, and Rantzau intreated her obedience to the order. "An order," said she, "of which, perhaps, the king himself knows nothing, or which has been obtained from his weakness by the most horrid perfidy. No: to such orders a queen gives no obedience." Rantzau, with a severe air, replied, that his commision would permit no delay. "No such order," said she, "shall be executed against my person before I have spoke to the king; let me go—I must, I will speak to him." At these words she advanced towards the door, but was withheld by Rantzau, who changed his intreaties into menaces. "Wretch," said she, "is this the manner of a subject to his queen?" The fierce and irritated Rantzau gave a significant look to his officers, of whom one, more daring than the rest, advanced towards the queen. She tore herself from his hands, and called loudly for help, but no person came. At length, being alone and defenceless, in the midst of armed men, this unhappy princess,

meanor of the crafty and selfish Juliana; the vague and uncertain prospect of any good, either to his king or country, arising from the fall of Struensee; and the horrid doom which awaited the captives, tended to shake his mind, and depress his spirits with gloomy presentiments.

To the king shewing himself from the balcony of his palace to the burgers of Copenhagen, Count Rantzau had no objection; but to see him parade the city, accompanied by Juliana and Prince Frederick; to hear a hired rabble shout in honor of that woman and her son, filled his mind with disgust. Now that the danger was over, the queen dowager soon let Count Rantzau know that there were individuals whose council had much more influence with her than his. This was particularly exemplified by Juliana Maria persisting in exhibiting the impotent king in gala dress, decking him with the richest jewels, accompanied by her perfidious son, who was thus exposed for several hours, bowing from his state coach to the shouting mob on either side, in whose clamorous shouts the name of Prince Frederick was

transported with rage, ran to a window, and would have precipitated herself from it, but she was withheld. They endeavored to carry her away, and she defended herself till her strength and recollection failed. When she recovered herself and perceived no means of escaping, she yielded, and was allowed time for dressing; after which she was conducted to the carriage which took her to the castle of Cronenborg." By comparing this with the preceding particulars, the reader will be able to form a correct judgment of the conduct of Queen Matilda and Count Rantzau.

insidiously blended with the king's. Against this act of malignant indecency Count Rantzau in vain protested: six hours had not elapsed ere that nobleman *felt* that all his fears were likely to be realised. In his heart he regretted the too ardent zeal with which he had devoted himself to save a king who was not worthy of esteem or respect.

Whilst this indecent farce was acting, Guldberg and Juliana had prepared another source of humiliation to the fallen queen, and of gratification of that fell spirit of hatred and vengeance that would perhaps have led Juliana, if opportunity had served, to have washed her hands in the heart's blood of Matilda. It was chiefly by the machinations of Guldberg that the city was filled with the most foul and outrageous violations of truth respecting the licentiousness of Matilda's court; which was certainly too gross to be defended, though it fell infinitely short of the exaggerated picture spread by a cloud of base emissaries hired by her enemies. What peculiarly marked the quarter whence they flowed was that *the king* was no less the object of abuse than the queen; and whilst the latter was called the w——e of Babylon, the scarlet w——e, and other gross and opprobrious epithets; the king was accused of being addicted to the worst of propensities: it was affirmed that to keep him quiet whilst Struensee had his queen, Brandt provided him with the means of gratification!

Such were the scandalous tales circulated amongst the vulgar, to weaken their attachment to the king, and rouse their passions and prejudices to the utmost pitch of fury. When the events of the night became known, the city was suddenly thrown into rage, confusion, and dismay. The inhabitants flocked in multitudes towards the king's palace; and as those reports were rapidly circulated through the country, thousands upon thousands soon rushed to the city, increasing the uproar and confusion. When the arrest of Queen Matilda and her partisans was fully understood, the air rang with the opprobrious epithets bestowed on her name. The most fierce and dangerous of the rioters were the sailors and their wives, and the vulgar inhabitants of St. Anna's quarter towards the Oster port. They seemed in a manner organised, and led by persons whose motions they obeyed. "Now the great b——y house is purified," said the ringleaders, "let us proceed to the purification of the city." Lists of names and places of abode were immediately handed about. The mob divided itself into masses, and attacked and gutted every house of ill fame, and the apartment of the poorest prostitute in the city; acting so methodically, that if there were only a single room inhabited by a courtezan, they seized her goods, and broke the doors and windows, without injuring the other rooms or any other property. The leaders openly sold to the best bidder what they could of the plunder, and divided the proceeds; the rest they burnt in

heaps in the different open spaces of the city. When they had completed this mischief, of which Juliana was the authoress; being full of drink and courage, they took it in their heads to march towards the citadel to demand the prisoners; and but for the firmness of Count Rantzau, under the vile pretext of fear and incompetent power to resist, their vengeance would have been saturated with blood, and the most unpopular prisoners given up to their fury. The count rode boldly amongst the maddened rabble; told them that strict justice should be done; but that the cannon of the citadel should be turned on them if they dared to persist. Such was the fury that animated the savage, prejudiced multitude against the queen, whose safety would have been very precarious if she had not been sent away.

During the first day of his imprisonment, Struensee seemed stupified; he did not eat; he drank only a little wine and water; he wept, but not excessively until he saw his valet enter, whose captivity called a flood of tears to the relief of his master's bosom. The count, to whom no one was permitted to speak, was so overcome by the honest grief depicted in the face of his young valet, that he took him by the hand, kissed his cheek, and said—"Poor fellow! I intended to have provided for thee: I delayed it too long, not wishing to lose thy services, and now thou art the companion of my prison! Can'st thou forgive me for this?" The young man, affected to a degree of

intense sympathy, sobbing and crying like a child, threw himself at his master's feet, and, embracing his knees, said, "Oh God! Oh God! if I had not opened the door, my beloved master might have escaped!"* The officers who were present could scarcely refrain from shedding tears. At last, Struensee, a little relieved, raised the poor fellow from his suppliant posture; and took, at his persuasion, a cup of coffee. The officers not understanding German, Ernestus told the count, whilst resting his head on his knees, that he had secured his gold repeater, diamond pin, and brooch; and also his purse, which he slipped into the count's hand;—that Count Brandt was in the next room;—the queen sent to Cronenborg; the count's brothers and friends all in arrest.† That his papers, as also his property

* There appears some uncertainty as to this point. If the secret staircase led to the queen's rooms, the count would inevitably have been seized there: if it led to a gallery or passage communicating with the grand suite of rooms, in that case he might have escaped from the palace, but not from the city.

Mr. Wolffe, in his interesting work, states, that "*The queen endeavored to make her escape through a secret passage; but on her arrival at the outer door, to her great mortification, found it guarded by sentinels.*" Vide *Northern Tour*, p. 95. This sentence confirms the preceding accounts, as to the existence of a secret passage, but affords no further elucidation as to where it led.

† General Falkenskjöld was thrown, in the depth of a northern winter, into a narrow and damp dungeon, where mutinous or disorderly seamen were usually confined. Some friend presented a petition to Prince Frederick, praying that the colonel might be removed to a prison less unwholesome. The author whence these particulars

were seized;—and lastly, he mentioned the riots of which he had been informed. The count was dreadfully agitated at this news; and yet he did not expect better: the purse he contrived to hide in the bed. The watch and jewels he bade his valet keep: fearful lest his valet had no money, Struensee took up the purse to give him a couple of ducats; when, owing to its slipping, he was detected: a fact the officers dared not conceal. The commandant, a lame short old man,* soon came, and very unceremoniously searched the count, and took away the money. He then rummaged the valet, and thus obtained the valuable gold watch

have been borrowed,† attributed to Prince Frederick the following sarcastic and inhuman reply: namely, "A man who has fought against the Turks, ought to be sufficiently hardened to bear any situation." There was a double sting in this reply; Falkenskjöld having served in the recent expedition against Algiers, which had totally failed, and thereby greatly exasperated the public mind against the principal officers concerned. The malice of Juliana and her partisans was particularly bitter against this officer, who was firmly attached to Struensee, and who would have prevented this catastrophe, if his regiment had arrived in time.

Lady Göhler, with the general, her husband, was taken to the citadel, and guarded by officers placed in their room: she was shortly afterwards removed from the citadel, and kept close prisoner in her own house.

* When Count Struensee was delivered as a state criminal to the commandant, the former said in a mournful tone of voice, "I suppose this visit is totally unexpected by you." "Not at all," replied the uncourteous commandant; "I have been for a long time past constantly expecting your excellency."

† Latrobe, p. 208.

that the count purchased when in England; the diamond brooch, a present from Matilda, that cost five hundred guineas; and a ring, one thousand: such was the magnificent spoil that, thus casually, fell into the hands of the colonel commandant Von Hoben, a coarse unfeeling man, and an obsequious creature of Eichstedt's. Whether it was done to insult, or gratify the count, a silver-gilt chamber-pot and wash-hand bason were brought from his stately apartments, forming a striking contrast with the humble furniture of his present abode; and still more so with that to which he was soon removed.

The commandant, addressing the count, told him that orders were given to allow him four shillings sterling per diem, and two for his attendant;* and that an orderly serjeant was in attendance to fetch what he wanted: then turning to the valet, he said, "You have told the count of the riots, as well as handed him a purse of ducats: now, mark what I say;—if, during your confinement and attendance, you tell the count any thing whatever, *even if it rains*, you shall be sent to Gluckstadt, condemned to perpetual slavery and chains. As the count is ignorant of our mother-tongue, and

* Mr. Wolffe asserts, "An officer remained with him during the time of his confinement, and only half a dollar was allowed for his daily sustenance." In this he was misinformed. The sum allowed the count proved fully sufficient to the decent supply of his wants. It was equal in Copenhagen at that period, to twenty shillings in London in 1812.

you can speak German, you are to use that language, and loud enough to be heard by the sentinels outside; and care will be taken that the officers on guard shall also know German." It was owing to Rantzau's interference that the valets of the two counts were confined in the same prisons with their masters, with liberty to wait on them. He was afraid they would otherwise be exposed to continual indignities, if not to private torture: to prevent which he obtained this indulgence; a privilege which ceased when judicial proceedings were began, and when those priests were obtruded on the captives who were the abject tools of Juliana and Guldberg; who carried to their employers the confessions extorted from the prisoners; and operating on the frighted imagination of Struensee, led him to accuse and criminate the queen.* To complete their tender

* The work published in England in 1776, entitled "*The Conversion and Death of Count Struensee*," by the Reverend Mr. Munter; and that of Count Enevold Brandt, by the Reverend Mr. Hee, convey the most abject idea possible of both those individuals. The priests by whom it was compiled, might, in their private characters, be respectable. It would, however, be credulous indeed, to believe, if they had not enjoyed the *confidence* of Juliana and her adherents, they would have been selected on that occasion: and if they had been men of unbending integrity, they never would have been chosen. These extraordinary confessions must be regarded as an *ex parte* statement, that, previous to publication, underwent the revision of Struensee's bitterest enemy. Many of the facts bear a stamp as if they were wrung from him by torture: others, by the hope of pardon. Whilst the *trial*, if such it may be termed,

mercies, they published, in their accounts of his conversion, such monstrous confessions, that if they could be believed, they prove Struensee to have been the most depraved, dastardly, and base of recorded villains.

Under the new regulations, discourse became irksome; but the presence of Ernestus, who was lodged in a room below the count, was still a great relief. The second night, about midnight, the valet heard heavy steps ascending the stairs; and a clank, as of a heap of chains or fetters thrown on the floor above his head. This disturbance filled him with terror; for his fears foreboded that those irons were for the count; and he expected, with fear and trembling, the same treatment. Presently he heard the sound of hammers, as if

was going on, these priests visited the prisoners; and it is reasonable to suppose, they received their instructions from the police minister, and shaped their questions accordingly: they passed alternately from the office of the attorney-general to the prisoners, and vice versa. As to Mr. Munter, the admissions and inuendoes contained in his share of the work, represent Struensee as the most filthy of depraved sensualists: whilst Mr. Hee, who was selected by the bishop of Harboe to visit Count Brandt, writes thus; (p. 274) "*The third confession was of such a nature, I dare not mention it, though it concerned his soul.*" The imagination being left to revel in an infinity of horrible conclusions, was likely to content itself with this, that however bad it might conceive the count to be, it would still fall far short of his guilt!—This was indeed pursuing the victim beyond the grave: and if Mr. Hee's motives were to do the utmost possible injury to the memory of Count Brandt, he unquestionably adopted the most certain mode of attaining it. This, however, is a conclusion that it would be illiberal, and perhaps unjust, to insist on.

rivetting on the fetters! In about half an hour, the noise ceased, the persons descended, who passed his door without stopping: this was some relief; but the thoughts of his master's fate kept him awake and in tears till towards the morning, when his slumbers were disturbed by dreams of the count being beheaded and quartered.

When he was permitted to leave his own room, he went with a heavy heart to the count. The looks of the sentinels, who sorrowfully shook their heads, confirmed his apprehensions. Struensee strove to conceal his disgrace; covering his face with the bed-clothes; but this could not last long; and when the eyes of the master and man met, they seemed equally affected; both looked pale and haggard, and their eyes were swollen by crying. The valet saw with horror and dismay that the count was chained to a massive iron staple driven into the wall; which passed through a swivel, fixed to a thick ring that encircled his right ancle and his left wrist; and so short as barely to admit him to reach a night-chair that stood at the foot of his bed, or sit on the bed's side; the staple being fixed opposite the centre of the bedstead. The valet, from excess of grief, could scarcely speak:—seizing Struensee's hand, he kissed it with respectful affection; and bathed with his tears the iron ring that encircled his master's wrist.*

* The count hurt the wrist of his right hand by a fall from a horse, and always afterwards wore a black ribbon round it. It was on that account the ring was fastened round his left wrist. Count Brandt was chained from his left foot to his right wrist.

Man is the most docile of all animals: he accommodates himself to all situations, and the most painful privations!—horror-struck as was this unhappy voluptuary when first he saw his limbs enchained; in the course of a couple of days his grief subsided, and he strove to relieve himself as much as possible by adapting his position to the length of his chain. He also began to take his meals with something like an appetite. He breakfasted about nine, off coffee, rolls, tops and bottoms, and biscuits: at one, he dined, took a glass of light wine, and a cup of coffee: drank tea about five or six o'clock, and perhaps ate a biscuit or two: he took no supper, but drank a glass of port wine and water. He was always very abstemious as to wines and spirits; at least, after he was placed about the king. His meat was cut by his valet, so that he might eat it with a silver fork or spoon; not being permitted to use a knife, lest he should commit suicide.

The count was supplied with provisions by a French restaurateur named *Mareschal*, who lived on Reverentz Gaarden, Konung's Nye Torve: every thing was most carefully examined before it was served up; even the bread was cut open; and the napkins shook, and held up to the light.

For the more secure confinement of the count, or (more correctly defining its object,) for his greater punishment, he was soon removed from the officers' barrack, to a room in the vallum, behind the church; a small, low, square room; with one

small window in the corner, and scarcely fourteen feet square; the walls were bare; a stump bedstead, a bed of the meanest kind, a table, close-stool, a stove, and two chairs for the officers, formed the miserable furniture of this gloomy place: but even here, as if to tantalize his memory, the silver-gilt chamber-pot and washing-basqn were allowed him. He was now chained more closely than before; so much so, that it was with difficulty he could reach the night-chair, or sit upright on the side of his bed. This was the act of Juliana, who more than once, after the valet was dismissed, gratified her malice by viewing in disguise the wretched victim of his own folly, and her treachery!

Without a moment's notice the valet was dismissed; nor was he allowed to speak to, or take leave of his master! The count was so much affected by his loss, that he was at first quite inconsolable; it was even reported that he tried to destroy himself by forcing the silver fork down his throat. Immediately after this, the priests and lawyers commenced their operations, working alternately on the hopes and fears of the unhappy man; who was partly persuaded by his treacherous spiritual visitors, and no less impelled by the horrid tortures with which he was threatened, to accuse the queen of having first seduced him, concealing nothing that ever had occurred between them. This act of cowardice, that did not save himself, gave the finishing blow to the slender hopes of the queen: the triumph of Juliana was now complete;

her exultation knew no bounds; and had not fear restrained her, she would have brought both the queen and the count to trial for adultery and treason. The trial of Count Struensee sufficiently proves how greatly the law was strained to reach him: as to Count Brandt, whatever criminality attached to his *motives*, no act of high treason was proved, and his sentence remains an indelible stain and disgrace to the jurisprudence of Denmark.

Count Struensee, too late, saw and deplored the weakness into which he had fallen in making unreserved confessions to priests, who, however sanctified their manners, were selected and sent to him by his mortal enemies. He saw that the hopes of mercy insidiously held out were false and illusive, and intended only to entangle him deeper and deeper: many a time he filled with dismay the officers who guarded him, when, furiously clanking his chains, and grinding his teeth, he cursed his own baseness, and the perfidy of his enemies. At last, seeing nothing but an ignominious death before his eyes, without any means of avoiding it, he collected the scattered energies of his mind, and wrote, chained as he was, in a limited quantity of paper, his defence, entitled "*Verantwortung des Grafen Struensee, an die Königlicke Commission*," *i. e.* "The reply of Count Struensee to the king's commissioners." It contains thirty pages of close letter-press; and if it fails to justify the conduct of Struensee,

it shews the weakness of the proofs that the commissioners had been able to assemble, and the gross absurdity of many of their charges. The efforts of the count to relieve the crown vassals from the accursed yoke called *feudal services*, were construed as an act of high treason* against *the sovereignty;* because, forsooth, by relieving the oppressed and degraded farmers and

* "*Dass, im fall jemand sich unterstehen würde, etwas auszuwürken oder an sich zu bringen, welches aut ein oder ander weise, der absolute herrschaft und souverainen macht des Königs zum nachtheil und Schmälerung gereichen, betrachtet, und diejenigen, die dergleichen erworben oder erschlichen haben, als Beleidiger der Majestät, und als solcke, welche die Königlicke monarchische gewalt und hoheit gröblich angetastet, gestraft werden soller.*" Vide *Urtheil in Sachen des Generalfiscals, wider den Grafen Struensee*, p. 121.

By this formidable and *elastic* article of the capitulation made by the *wise* Burgers of Copenhagan with Frederick the Third, it is declared an act of HIGH TREASON, if at *any* future period, *any* person should, by *any* means attempt to diminish the despotic power of the crown!—Under the sanction of this law, Struensee rendered himself liable to the death of a traitor by every act of political reformation that he introduced.

M. Suhm,† in his letter addressed, in 1772, to Christian the Seventh, after glancing his eye at the despotism of Denmark, thus defines the boasted freedom of us English; viz.—

"Thus will Denmark become the land of liberty; of unlimited power; of peace, plenty, and security beyond even that of England; where, although self-interested, and servile ministers cannot prevent the voice of the people from being heard at the foot of the throne; yet, by their influence they prevent its effects, and cause those who are the interpreters of public grievances, and who stand forward in so upright a cause, TO BE THROWN INTO PRISON."

† Counsellor of State.—Vide Wolffe's *Northern Tour*, p. 89.

labouring poor, the sovereign power must be diminished; and by the act that conferred the sovereign power on Frederick the Third, it is declared an act of high treason in any one who should, by any means, direct or indirectly attempt to deprive that king or his successors of any part of the sovereign power! Thence, according to this atrocious doctrine of the crown lawyers of Denmark, that glorious undertaking, the fulfilment of which has since immortalised the memory of Count Bernstorff, was an act of high treason in Count Struensee!!!

Queen Matilda was in a manner annihilated when the confessions of Struensee,—every page signed with his well-known hand, and couched in the most offensive terms,—were laid before her.* Struensee's want of fortitude decided her fate. Count Rantzau was at first incredulous: when a copy was handed to him, he saw at one glance that the Queen Matilda would be divorced and banished, and Juliana remain sole mistress of the field. He cursed the pusillanimity of Struensee, and his own folly and precipitancy; for it could not escape him, that the day must soon arrive that should terminate in disgrace his own career.

* The account published in Germany in 1788, and translated by Latrobe the next year, (p. 242,) accuses the king's commissioners of having signed the name of Carolina Matilda to her confession: a charge altogether improbable, as they were possessed of superabundant evidence to establish every fact it contained. Sir John Carr copied this little embellishment into his *Northern Summer*.

Struensee had many amours on his hands; and many a ruined female too late bemoaned her fate. He had several illegitimate children; for none of whom could he make the least provision, not a single dollar of all his property being left him: his brothers, afterwards provided for those children, principally in Prussia.

Ernestus, the valet, strove in vain to obtain an interview with his master previous to his execution. Pleased with his fidelity to Struensee, Count Rantzau took him into his service, treating him in a manner peculiarly kind. As the fatal day approached, the young man appeared more and more affected; growing seriously worse; which did not at all tend to cheer the spirits of his new master, who remained in his house on the 28th of April, when the dreadful sentence was fulfilled. He used every argument in his power to tranquillize the mind of the faithful Norwegian, whose fixed sorrow seemed too violent to admit of consolation. The heaviest calamities are, however, lightened by the hand of time; and youth is the season when grief is soonest forgotten: within about a week after the execution, a wish once more to behold the face of his lamented master, led him to the place where his mangled remains were exhibited;* and so great was the shock his sensibility

* Mr. Coxe, ed. 1802, vol. 3, p. 1, gives the following account of this horrid scene, viz:—

"I visited the spot where Struensee and Brandt were executed on the 28th March *(April)* 1772. The scaffold was constructed

received, that he fell senseless on the earth; in which state he was found; and after he revived, and was carried home, he was confined for a week to

near the east gate of the town; and they were conducted to the spot in two separate carriages, through an immmense concourse of people. They arrived at the place of execution about eleven o'clock. Brandt first alighted, and mounted the scaffold with a slow step and undaunted mien: he heard his sentence read, and saw his coat of arms broken, without expressing the least emotion; he then prayed for a few minutes, and spoke a few words to the people. When the executioner approached to assist him," (undress) "he said to him with firmness, yet not without mildness, '*Stand off! and do not presume to touch me.*' Without any assistance he pulled off his pelisse, and prepared for his fate. He first stretched out his hand, and bade the executioner do his duty, without shrinking from the blow: it was struck off, and his head severed from his body almost in the same instant: his body was then quartered.

"During this dreadful scene, Struensee remained at the bottom of the scaffold," (in a coach, the priest conversing and praying with him) "anxiously expecting and dreading his own fate. His whole frame trembled when Brandt's blood gushed from the scaffold, and he was so agitated that he could not walk up the steps without help. He said nothing, and permitted the executioner to assist him in taking off his cloak. Instead of imitating the serenity of his fellow-sufferer, he started up several times before he gave the signal, drew back his hand, which was shockingly mangled before it was cut off, and was at last held down by force whilst the executioner beheaded him." Such is Mr. Coxe's relation of Struensee's last moments, and it is to be hoped of his last sufferings; but it contains a few errors, that are excusable in describing what had happened several years before. Godsckau, the executioner, was bred a surgeon, and articled to his trade; wore a sword, and was not held infamous; the axes he used were very sharp and heavy; he had two by his side, covered in bags. Struensee was *really convulsed*, and therefore *could* not hold himself still: his face and right arm were of necessity placed in the

his room: from that period his grief wore off, but whenever he recollected the sufferings of the count and of Queen Matilda, whom, beyond any

cavities purposely cut into the block to receive them; the executioner's assistant held the hand by the fingers, and the head by the hair: it were no wonder if the headsman was a little nervous; but the hand was struck off at a blow; the axe was fixed tight in the block; he seized his other, and the neck of Struensee being very short, part of his chin was cut off: it is probable he was insensible before the fatal blow was given. The two counts were taken to the scaffold in their irons; and as both were executed on one block, Struensee had the horrid task to perform of laying his face and hand in puddles of the yet reeking blood of his dearest friend, whose mangled remains lay spread around! A stronger mind than Struensee ever possessed might have been totally unhinged by the dreadful scene before his eyes.

The executioner having disembowelled the bodies, cut off their private parts, and divided the trunks each in four quarters; the entrails, &c. were thrown into tubs placed on the scaffold to receive them; the heads, and right hands, and bleeding quarters, were then exposed to public view as they were conveyed all through the city to the field at the opposite extremity, where they were to be left to rot, or be devoured by the fowls of the air. For each body, four stout balks were, at equal distances, driven into the earth; a taller pole was fixed in the centre: the entrails, &c. were buried in a hole dug at the foot of the central pole; on the top the head was fixed, the pole being forced up inside to the scull, through which a spike was driven to make it fast! the hand was nailed to a piece of board, placed transversely below the head; a cart or waggon wheel was fixed horizontally on the top of each of the four posts or pillars, on which a quarter of the body was exposed, made fast to the wheel by chains of iron! In this manner were the bodies of the two counts disposed of; and such was the horrid spectacle presented to the eyes of the valet when he reached the dismal place. Its effect on his nerves is already mentioned: but Juliana is said to have gone to

other witness, he could have criminated, it inspired him with melancholy, and often cost him the silent tribute of a tear.

glut her insatiate malice with the sight. It was rumoured, though it is almost too horrible for belief, that she said to Guldberg, "It is not *quite* complete; the head of the * * * * * is wanting to make it so." The place where the bodies were thus exposed was that on which the scavengers emptied all the filth of Copenhagen.

## CHAP. VIII.

*Character and conduct of Count Rantzau.—His Disgrace.—Benevolence of Matilda.—Gratitude.—* Lex-taliones.—*Sensibility and gratitude.—A fascinating mistress.—Visit to Zell.—A fair penitent.—Reconciliation of Matilda and Rantzau.—Their deaths.*

WHILST the sovereignty was in reality possessed and exercised by Juliana Maria, taking warning by the fate of Struensee, she suffered the council of state to be re-established, which, with the exception of Count Rantzau, was composed of persons devoted to her views: the members consisted of the elder Counts de Thott, d'Osten, and Rantzau; de Schak Ratlau, and Colonel, now General Eichstedt. The king soon found his condition was not bettered; he changed keepers, and that was all; and was deprived of some gratifications (and perhaps properly enough) that he received under the reign of his consort.

Juliana took care that the day and hour, and every horrid feature of Struensee's execution, should be made known to Queen Matilda; who generously pardoned the man that had betrayed her, imputing his conduct to the effects of torture. She passed that day in her bed-room, with no

other company than her infant, now doubly dear to her desolate mother; and during the rest of her life, though *the name* was never heard to pass her lips, she is said, at her palace in Zell, to have devoted its anniversary to fasting and prayer. There is no doubt but her fall wrought a thorough reformation in the mind of Matilda, that was tainted by only one crime, and that one, flowing from the criminality of others rather than the innate depravity of her own heart.* In spite

* Latrobe, p. 247, speaking of the queen, says, "Her sensibility rendered her capable of feeling her misery in its utmost extent; and the expressions in which she depicted the excruciating apprehensions of her mind to her counsellor Uhldal, fully shewed with what accuteness she felt them."

P. 268. "On the 27th of May, two English frigates and a cutter arrived at Helsingor, (Elsineur) and on the 30th the queen left Cronenborg. The last moments which this amiable queen spent in the Danish dominions, were distressing in the highest degree. She was now under the necessity of parting from her only comfort, the only object of her affection" (untrue and improper) "her infant daughter; and of leaving her in the hands of her sworn enemies. She fondly pressed for some minutes the babe to her bosom, and bedewed it with a shower of tears: she then attempted to tear herself away; but the voice, the smiles, the endearing motions of her infant, were chains that irresistibly drew her back. At last she called up all her resolution; took her once more into her arms, with the impetuous ardour of distracted love, imprinted on the lips of the babe the farewell kiss, and returning it to the attendant, she exclaimed, "Away! away! I now possess nothing here!"—One of the king's boats carried her to the first frigate; and the squadron (commanded by Captain Macbride) saluted her on coming on board, and set sail for Stade, whence she was to travel by land to Zell. Unfortunately the ships

of the remonstrances of a certain great power, the enemies of Matilda persevered in proceeding to divorce her from the king. It admitted of no very favorable construction that the king her brother did not send for her home to his own court, instead of ordering her to fix her residence

were detained by contrary winds; and she had still, for a whole day, the distressing view of the country, which to her had been the source of so many misfortunes. The next day a favourable wind enabled the fleet to proceed.

Thus ended this memorable revolution; which is certainly one of the most extraordinary political events in the history of any country. The princess who thereby lost the most exalted situation that birth or fortune can bestow, deserved a better fate. Truth cannot deny, nor judgment approve, her errors; but the heart must allow that she had the justest claim to pity and indulgence. Her sensibility, and the circumstances into which she was thrown, were powerful enemies to a susceptible mind, whose very excellencies led her into danger. After her *first* error, the good qualities of her own heart hurried her into the embarrassments in which she was involved. The warmth of her disposition led her to take the first step upon the wrong path; she was too much infatuated to be immediately conscious of it; and she had proceeded too far before she discovered her mistake. The discovery alarmed her, and she strove to measure back her steps: a thousand obstacles opposed her return: she felt herself too weak to overcome them: her first efforts were ill-judged, and only led her deeper into error: her mind was exceedingly distressed; to alleviate which became her only study. Dissipation offered her the readiest assistance; and, with the activity of mind peculiar to herself, she grasped at every thing that might have a tendency to banish *reflection* from her bosom. Since that dreadful moment, when the veil was torn from her eyes, when she was awaked from her trance, and a long and severe punishment inflicted, *her conduct* is her best defence with the humane, susceptible, and the

at Zell! a city,—the birth-place of her unfortunate ancestor, who was immured so many years in the castle of Aller. It was a measure better calculated to lead an erring woman to reflection and amendment, than to restore a dubious character in the estimation of the world. Matilda fell the victim of an ardent constitution, and a debauched, impotent, and depraved husband: whilst that detested and detestable step-mother, whose life from the first year of her arrival in Denmark was but one tissue of criminal intrigues and intended murder, was permitted to triumph, and descend to the tomb, if unpunished, yet universally detested.

virtuous. Cronenborg witnessed in this princess, the most sincere repentance, the most tender maternal affection; the noblest sympathy with her unfortunate friends, and the most heroic resignation to her cruel fate. Zell afterwards saw in her the purest virtue and piety; the sweetest affability; the most compassionate heart; and a degree of fortitude in her distressing situation, which shed a soft and tranquil lustre over the *evening* of her life."——Such is Mr. Latrobe's translation, which in places I have altered, being sure he mistook the meaning of his German original: he mentions the *evening* of Matilda's life! Matilda perished, ere its meridian, by an infectious fever. At Zell, she paid liberally for intelligence as to her children; and she had waxen figures dressed like them, which she addressed as if they were her children. Matilda fell a victim to her gratitude. A running footman, named *Alexander Stuart*, who had attended her in Denmark, and whom her enemies could neither suborn nor intimidate, was seized with a putrid fever. She respected this man on account of his fidelity and attachment: insisting on seeing him, the generous woman caught the dire infection, and died a few days after poor Stuart had breathed his last.

The ignominious confessions of Count Struensee, however extorted, mortified Rantzau no less than they delighted Juliana. I state that which Rantzau himself declared, when I affirm, that his sole object in arresting that princess was to prevent her from rescuing Struensee, and to save her from the machinations of Juliana, who, artfully working on the prejudices of the very lowest of the people, might have found means to have destroyed her by a popular insurrection. The riots that took place in the city, immediately after the arrests of the 17th January 1772,—riots that were *intended* to insult and degrade the character of Matilda,—afforded incontestible proofs that the apprehensions of Count Rantzau were not chimerical. Rantzau, no less than Juliana and her cabal, was determined on the overthrow of Struensee and Brandt; after which Rantzau fully intended to have restored the queen. It was his untoward fate to succeed in every step that militated against that greatly unhappy lady; and to fail in every thing that was kind and gracious in his intentions towards her.

Count Rantzau found himself thwarted in every project that he thought would be of use to his country, and forced to acquiesce in plans that he knew to be founded on private interest. He was compelled either to be the slave of Juliana and her cabal, or to oppose her when he knew opposition would not avail. Previous to the arrest of Struensee, the count entertained serious thoughts

of effecting a radical revolution in Denmark; tearing up the feudal system by the roots, and establishing a representative government on the model of that of England. This subject had often been discussed between him and Struensee; and if he could have induced Struensee to have considered him (Rantzau) as the head of the patriotic party, for which his high rank, great possessions, talents and experience so well fitted him, the attempt would have been made; but the queen ruled the king, and through him the realm; Struensee ruled the queen, and was *de facto*, the sovereign of Denmark: blinded by pride, fired by ambition,—he cut with Rantzau, followed his own crude suggestions, and perished as we have seen. Instead of addressing anonymous letters to Count Brandt, and useless remonstrances to Count Struensee, if Rantzau had demanded an audience of Matilda; warned her of her danger; and as the only honorable and safe means of providing for her safety, had proposed such a revolution, it is very probable he would have succeeded; and *then* that glorious measure was sure to have been carried: for what could a few impotent nobles have done against the united power of the crown, the army, and the people?

With many fine qualities, Count Rantzau had great vices: ambition worked to the full as powerfully in him as in Struensee; and in his morals he was equally relaxed: he become *jealous* of Struensee; he thirsted for revenge; to obtain which, in de-

fiance of the dictates of common prudence, he coalesced with his mortal foe, and the very worst woman in Denmark. In that coalition the count betrayed a degree of weakness that deprived him of all claim to sympathy: Struensee fell the victim of his own egotism and vanity; Count Rantzau of his own defective policy.

The banished and repudiated queen was scarcely seated in her melancholy residence at Zell—far away from her friends, her children, and every earthly pleasure;—and the features of the unhappy Struensee were yet plainly distinguishable, grinning horribly and ghastly above the waggon wheels on which was exhibited his black and decaying quartered body, when that stroke which Rantzau foresaw, and Matilda foretold, fell upon Count Rantzau.

The dowager queen had already secured a majority of votes in the council, in favour of appointing her son regent of the kingdom during the minority of the crown prince Frederick; but still, without Rantzau's concurrence she dared not risk the undertaking; the real object of which was, of course, her own aggrandisement. The artful calculator conceived that Rantzau had so completely committed himself by his arrest of Queen Matilda, that he must by necessity succumb, and forward her views whatever they might be.

On the approach of summer, the Danish court which, after the fall of Matilda, became austere,

formal, and gloomy, removed from the winter palace in the capital to Fredericksborg. Juliana then took possession of Matilda's state rooms; and made her minion Guldberg the occupier of those where Struensee had so often revelled in a flood of voluptuousness.

Her chamberlain, Blucher, took a note, written by Juliana, and dictated in very flattering terms, requesting the attendance of Count Rantzau the next day, to spend the day and pass the night at that palace.

The count ordered his vis-a-vis and four; a change of linen and clothes, and attended by his Norwegian valet, drove to the grand entrance, dressed *en gala*. The moment his name was announced, Prince Frederick went to the head of grand staircase to receive him; and whispered in his ear that his mother wished to speak to him, before the drawing-room commenced: he went through the prince's room to the queen dowager's; there he found General Eichstedt, General Kohler Banner, and that able statesman, Guldberg.

The queen dowager received the count, as indeed did all present, with distinguished homage: presently the prince withdrew, looking very significantly on Rantzau, and telling him he hoped on his return to learn that he might rank his excellency amongst the number of his *particular* friends,—casting his heavy eye on his mother's creatures, who, of course, bowed most obsequiously and profoundly. The task was left to

Guldberg to explain to Rantzau, that to preserve the internal tranquillity of Denmark, and command the respect of foreign states; the gentlemen then present, and others, considering the lamentable imbecility of the king, and the tender age of the crown prince; had applied to the queen dowager to prevail on her son to accept the office of regent; but ere they proceeded further, they wished to obtain his excellency's sanction.

The blood rushed in a torrent to the old count's face; his eyes flashed fire; and eyeing the speaker with fierce disdain, he said, "Never, whilst Rantzau wears his sword! You are all guilty of more treason against the king," said the Count, looking sternly at the persons who were present, "than what was proved against the scoundrel Struensee: henceforth let my name be erased from this cabal; and if you dare to proceed, this sword shall chastise your disloyalty and presumption." Eichstedt, Banner, Rantzau, all rose together, and their hands, as if instinctively, were laid on their swords: the crafty queen turned pale as ashes from rage and fear: Guldberg rushed between the angry nobles, exclaiming, "For shame, gentlemen! in the queen mother's presence is this decorous?" At his request, Eichstedt and Kohler Banner, humbly begging forgiveness of Juliana, seated themselves: Rantzau, too, apologized to that woman; whose malice, had her power been correspondent, would have transfixed him to the earth, or severed his limbs like those

of Struensee. But if the count was fiery and open, Juliana could be cool and reserved: she therefore affected to rebuke Guldberg for his presumption; affirming with the utmost effrontery that she knew nothing whatever of the measure alluded to; and felt truly sorry that the government, in its present state of weakness, should lose the support of one of *its firmest pillars:* this ironical and satirical speech conveyed to Count Rantzau the acceptation of his dismission from the council of state.

Count Rantzau then withdrew, visibly and violently agitated. To conceal the tears he could not repress, he kept wiping his face, and complaining of the heat of the drawing-room. His valet, Ernestus, with evident marks of concern, marked the angry frown that ruffled his brows; and would, if he had dared, have asked what had disturbed him. The count read his thoughts in the expressive features of his valet, and said, "There is nothing the matter, only it is so d—d hot. Go, my friend; order a dragoon to overtake my coach, and bring it back." Ernestus turned pale at this order; for he knew the count had been invited, and had designed to spend the day and night at Fredericksborg. He obeyed in silence, half suspicious that the count's head sat but loosely on his shoulders. The vis-a-vis drew up; the count leaped in; Ernestus followed. The whole way home the count kept complaining of the heat, and wiping his face. When he arrived at his

palace, he undressed, and had recourse to his constant solace in trouble, i. e. *his pipe*.*

This was the last time that ever Count Rantzau was at court in Denmark. The next day a gentleman of the court, Major Harboe, of the horse-guards, came to the count, ostensibly to propose an accommodation, but in reality to sound his feelings, and if possible ascertain his future views. They took chocolate together, and had a long conference. The count was too experienced a courtier to be entrapped by a shallow young man like this; and the latter, unable to induce the count to make a confession, in all probability substituted one of his own fabrication; at least, the events that followed indicated as much.

The *disgrace* of Count Rantzau was soon spoken of by the whole city, and generally with satisfaction; for he had the singular adroitness to offend every party in the state, without forming one of his own. The rumours respecting his ill treatment of Queen Matilda, were fed by exaggerated statements from Juliana and her partisans, by which

* The count was excessively addicted to smoking, and very particular in every thing relating thereto; his *mereschuym* pipes (mounted in gold and silver) were of the costliest kind; his tobacco was procured from Cadiz: he frequently smoked himself to sleep, his large pipe, secured from letting any fire fall out, resting on ribbons above his head, and the tube in his mouth: he would at times smoke in the night: one pipe full of tobacco lasted two hours: a silver tinder-box, &c. stood by his bed side, ready to renew his pipe if it chanced to go out.

means the character of the count was most unmercifully treated, particularly by the ladies. The courtiers no longer sought his notice; his antichambers were no longer crowded by humble supplicants; but, in the midst of a crowded city, he felt himself in solitude and alone.

After the visit to Fredericksborg palace, he stayed but a fortnight in Copenhagen, and that period was principally employed in arranging his pecuniary affairs, and taking leave of his mistresses. The children of Count Rantzau Rastorff were the heirs to the entailed estates; and the count, with all his levity, was anxious that his tenants, to whom he had ever been a mild and indulgent landlord, should not be oppressed, nor, after his decease, be deprived of their honest earnings that during his life-time they might have acquired.

Love, war, and state intrigues had alternately engaged the count's attention from his earliest days of manhood; and so docile was his genius, he could follow the three pursuits at once, with as much intensity as if one alone engaged his attention. The last object of the count's amours in Denmark was a fine young actress, Sophia Livernet, who was the first female dancer in the opera. He was wooing this young damsel just as his head was full of the great undertaking he meditated against counts Struensee and Brandt. The father of his favorite was a tailor residing in the city, to whom she was very liberal. As she lost her engagement by accepting the ad-

dresses of Count Rantzau, the old nobleman settled a competent annuity on her parents to protect them from want in their old age; whilst he conferred sufficient wealth to render Sophia independent; the interest of which he secured to her during life in the Bank stock of England, with liberty to dispose of one moiety by will: the other moiety he gave her to use as she pleased.

This girl was not more than eighteen when this old nobleman found means to gain her affections. Her character stood the first of any young actress on the stage; she was neither insolent nor wasteful; and, in point of personal beauty, there were few could boast of brighter charms. In stature she was of a graceful height, without being *tall;* her face oval, features of the Italian cast; her complexion was remarkably clear, and her colour so blooming that she never used rouge; her eyes were a brilliant black; her lips, thin, rosy, and finely formed; her teeth small, white, and even; her tresses a dark auburn, her neck and bosom were of the finest form; her motions graceful, and her disposition good and affable. Such was the young girl whose first public attachment was to a man of sixty years old. Her subsequent conduct indicated that her respect for the count was not founded on mercenary principles alone. Miss Livernet's quitting the stage, gave offence to Queen Matilda, to Struensee, and Brandt; and a message was sent to the count to require her re-appearance. He sent word that

Miss Livernet resided in his hotel; and if they wanted her, there she was to be found. The queen, haughty and irritable, was for sending an officer to take her by force; but Struensee and Brandt, who knew the count better than the queen, dissuaded her from taking any steps by which they might make an irreconcileable enemy of that enterprising man. Such was the brief history of Sophia Livernet, who, at the time of the count's difference with the faction whom he had set up, was living with him in the princens palace, a still greater favorite than his pipe, which is saying a great deal, considering the strength of his attachment to that source of humble pleasure. But there was this difference between the one and the other, namely, that he forsook his mistresses when the bloom of youth and beauty forsook them, and often long before; whereas, the longer he smoked his *mereschuym* pipe, and the older it grew, the more beautiful and valuable it became in his eyes.*

His affairs in the metropolis being finally settled, the count, leaving Miss Livernet in his hotel, accompanied only by his favorite valet, Ernestus, went by water first to Elsineur, and thence to Warrenborg, a small town in the Baltic.†

* This really is the case with those pipes; the rich clouded colour for which they are chiefly prized by *amateurs*, arising from the internal heat, managed in a peculiar way to produce that effect.

† In the map of Zealand in Mr. Coxe's Travels, vol. 5. p. 84. there is no such town as Warrenborg noted: there probably exists

During the passage he seemed absorbed in thought. The sight of Cronenborg Castle brought the remembrance of Matilda and her sufferings to his mind; and whether it was her fate or his own,—for he felt he was going into perpetual banishment,—he again complained of the heat, and wiped a tear from his eye. A tack made by the skipper, close to Copenhagen, afforded the count a view of the mangled remains of Struensee and Brandt. The count was startled at the sight: his features denoted horror and surprise. "Put about instantly," said he sternly to the skipper; "do you think I want to look at the remains of those men?" Unconscious of offence, the skipper humbly stated that he must first gain the point of land a-head. Ashamed of his weakness, the count flung him a ducat and went below; where, leaning his head on his hand, thoughtful and abstracted, he sat silent and motionless. The skipper was by birth a Norwegian, and finding that the count's valet was his countryman, he shewed him the ducat, saying "What made your master startle at the sight of the limbs of Struensee and Brandt, and order me to put about, when without reaching the Ness, I could not get on with this wind?" The valet shook his head, and made no reply: the skipper continued, "Perhaps the old gentleman is not right in his head; or may be, all is not right here?"—laying his hand on his heart; "Had *he* any

some mistake as to the route taken by the count from Copenhagen to Corsoer.

hand in bringing those men to that dreadful end? if he had, the Lord, have mercy upon him; I would not have their blood on my hands—not for all the ducats in the world!"—Ernestus looked the old man in the face attentively, and said in Norsk, "Are you not Peter Nielsen, who rescued the king from the sea when he was crown-prince?" "Aye," said the blunt old man, "that man am I. The villain Brockdorff,* I believe, God forgive me if I wrong him, intended he should be drowned. King Frederick, of blessed memory, gave me a handful of money, and ordered I should be provided for; but I never had any provision, till the good young queen chanced to hear that I had once saved her husband's life. Heaven bless her, and be her guide and protector!" said the grateful seaman: "she sent for me, and made

* "During the life of King Frederick the Fifth, the royal party were often entertained by a water frolic, upon that part of the sea which lies immediately behind Fredensborg. The present king (Christian the Seventh) in one of those expeditions was more wild and disorderly than usual; neither entreaties nor remonstrances could prevail upon him to be quiet. One of the gentlemen of the household, Brockdorff by name, whose manners were in general not the most polished, threatened to throw the young prince into the water, unless he behaved more decently; and, taking him by the arm, he was really unfortunate or aukward enough to throw him overboard. The prince was immediately saved, but he never forgot the circumstance; and ascribed his misfortune to a design of his step-mother upon his life, in order to raise her son Prince Frederic to the throne. This suspicion grew up with him, and it was in vain to attempt to persuade him to the contrary." Latrobe, p. 276.

me tell her all about it; which I did in my homely way. The beautiful queen shook her head, as much as to say, I know who was at the bottom of this: so did I too, but I did'nt say so: so then she bade her woman tell me I *should* be provided for when the king came home, who was then in England; and she shook me by my coarse hand, and made her baby put its little hand into mine, to thank me for having saved its father's life; and she gave me money, for I was very poor through sickness and bad luck: and soon after the king returned, I was indeed sent for to the palace, and the king himself took me by the hand; but it seems his majesty thought I was provided for. Count Struensee was there; but he was no count then—happy, mayhap, if he never had. He was then the king's German doctor. I could speak a little German; and he told me I was to have a hundred dollars a year for my life, so that I need never work or go to sea again: I fell on my knees to thank the king and queen, and told them I should die if I was not to work, nor go to sea: they smiled when they heard this; and the king said, 'Old man, thou shalt not die, if I can save thee:' so then, Doctor Struensee,—God bless his soul! and may his sins be forgiven him—said, 'A gift of a small vessel would be more useful.' 'True,' said the queen, 'he shall have a vessel, and the pension too:'—This very yacht was the queen's gift. Now have not I and mine a right to pray for

my benefactress?"—Ernestus was so much affected, he could not reply: of the circumstance he had often heard Struensee speak, but the man he had never seen: and now that Count Rantzau was fallen in disgrace, the vessel bestowed by the queen wafted him from the shores he was doomed to tread no more. The wind was now right aft; the mate was at the helm, the count yet below; the old skipper and the young valet were standing forward; of course, the sound of their voices was borne away by the breeze: the heart of the young man was so full, he could no longer conceal that he had been the favorite valet of Struensee; that he was now in the service of Count Rantzau, who was the nobleman by whom his packet had been freighted.

The old man was deeply affected at this discovery, for he knew not before the name of his freighter. "Well, indeed, might *his* conscience twinge him at the sight of those men's limbs!" said the skipper, indignantly: "But *how* came *you* to take service with the sworn enemy and destroyer of your late master?" "I lost my all when I was torn to prison; I gave no evidence against the queen nor the count; and thus I was left destitute and unpaid. Count Rantzau is a generous and good master; and hearing that I had been faithful, and wanting a valet, his excellency hired me; and a kind indulgent master I have found him." "God be praised," said the skipper, "you did not disgrace your honest parents, whom I well

knew at Bergen; many a cup of good wine have I drank in their cellar; and blessed be his righteousness that is now bringing disgrace and punishment on the destroyer of my benefactors." "Take this ducat," said he, "and return it to the count, and tell his excellency all I have in the world I derived from those whom he destroyed." "You mistake the count's character," said Ernestus; "No, I mistake him not," rejoined the blunt old man; "and if you will not carry the ducat back, why here it goes! (throwing it into the sea) it would bring a curse on me and mine if I were to keep it." The skipper then began a long argument to persuade Ernestus to quit the service of the count; and the valet was no less zealous to convince the skipper that he had formed too unfavorable an opinion of him; so that when they reached Warrenborg, the opinions of both were still the same. The skipper promised to be silent and discreet as to the quality of his passenger, except the count should avow himself; and having received the freight, which the skipper made a vow should be given to the poor, and never blended with his *honest money*; they took leave of each other.

The count did not find his spirits revived by his valet's telling him, in reply to a demand why he seemed so melancholy, the singular conversation he had had with the old skipper; suppressing only the hearty maledictions bestowed on his master. The count seemed more surprised than

pleased at this adventure. "Did the old fellow know me," said the count: he was answered in the negative. "I am sorry for it," said he, "for I should have wished to have tried his attachment and his avarice: I flung him a ducat, because I had spoken cross to him; perhaps he would not have accepted it, had he known Count Rantzau was the donor?" "He flung it in the sea as soon as he learnt it." "What!" said the count sternly, "this, after telling me he knew me not?" The valet then told the whole story from beginning to end: the count was deeply affected at this proof of strong aversion. "I am already," said he, "an outcast from society, a wanderer, like Cain; every man's hand is held up against me!" For an hour or two he continued very melancholy, till a buxom girl coming in his way, Matilda, Struensee, and his own self-banishment, seemed forgotten in the ardour with which he paid his addresses to the rosy young rustic. From Warrenborg, the count travelled in his own equipage (that arrived by another vessel) by land to Korsoer, where he crossed the Great Belt, landing at Nyborg, whence it is four German, or sixteen English miles, to Odensee,* the capital of Funen, and formerly a royal residence.

The execrable tyrant, Christian the Second, was buried in a church in this town. The brief account given of him in Mr. Coxe's travels is so very interesting, that the translator thought he should rather please than offend

The count hired a furnished house, about five miles from that small city, where he lived perfectly retired, seeing no company whatever, except the farmer's daughters who brought him fruit. When his sensual fits came on, he ceased to moralise: those subdued, he was again the

his readers, by inserting it as a note to this portion of the Secret History of the Court of Denmark:—

"John ascended the throne in 1481, on the death of his father Christian I.; and in 1497, renewing the union of Calmar, obtained the crown of Sweden, which the Swedes, however, did not long permit him to enjoy. He died on the 12th of February 1513, having on his death-bed admonished his son, Christian II.; admonitions which had no effect on a breast already corrupted by power, and impatient for dominion. John would have acted more wisely, had he endeavoured to render the infant mind of his son capable of receiving the impressions of virtue, and had not shamefully neglected his education; a crime highly reprehensible in a father, but unpardonable in a sovereign, who is perhaps rearing a tyrant for his subjects, and entailing on his country a series of evils, for which he is himself chiefly accountable. Historians agree in representing John as a wise and prudent prince, inclined to peace, but enterprising in war; and as generally moderate and humane; admitting, however, that he perpetrated occasionally acts of violence and cruelty, derived from a species of melancholy madness, that preyed upon his mind, and at times deprived him of his senses.

His son, the cruel and unfortunate Christian II. is entombed near his father, under a plain grave-stone, somewhat raised, but without inscription. He was born at

sentimental philosopher, and stern reviser of an ill spent, oft lamented, but never amended life.

It was not to be expected but most of those florists and fruit girls, who visited the house of the count, should prefer as a sweetheart a fine young fellow, scarcely one-and-twenty, to a count

Nyborg, on the 2d of July 1481; and discovered in his youth symptoms of a lively genius and good understanding, which, if properly cultivated, might have rendered him the ornament, instead of the dishonor, of his country. The young prince was entrusted to a common burgher of Copenhagen, and afterwards removed to the house of a schoolmaster, who was a canon of the cathedral. In this situation, his chief employment consisted in regularly accompanying his master to church, where he distinguished himself beyond the other scholars and choristers in chanting and singing psalms. He was afterwards consigned to the tuition of a German preceptor, a man of learning, but a pedant; under whom, however, he made a considerable proficiency in the Latin tongue. From this humble education Christian imbibed a taste for bad company, and was accustomed to haunt the common taverns, to mix with the populace, to scour the streets, and to be guilty of every excess. The king at length, informed of those irregularities, reproved him severely; but as the prince had already contracted habits, which were grown too strong to be eradicated, these admonitions were too late. He feigned, however, contrition for his past behaviour, and again won the affections of his father by his military successes in Norway, and by an unwearied application to the affairs of government.

During the first years of his reign, which commenced in 1513, his administration was in many respects worthy

of sixty, although he might, barring unknown contingencies, be able to trace his pedigree up to Charles the Great, or the greater hero Oden; or carry in his arms threescore and ten quarterings. Ernestus, delighted and gratified, thought again of the fair ladies in the gay court of Matilda: both master and man seemed to have lost all

of praise; and the excellence of many of his laws, has induced Holberg * to affirm, that if the character of Christian II. was to be determined by his laws, and not by his actions, he would merit the appellation of Good, rather than of Tyrant. Happy would it have been for himself and his people, had he continued to reign on the same principles.

At first, all his enterprises were crowned with success: he abridged the power of the Danish nobility, and exalted the regal prerogatives; he obtained the crown of Sweden by conquest, and was even proclaimed hereditary sovereign of that kingdom. A prudent and temperate use of these advantages might have ensured him a long and undisturbed possession of the throne; but his natural disposition, now freed from all restraint by prosperity, hurried him to the perpetration of the most flagrant acts of tyranny. The dreadful massacre of Stockholm, in which six hundred of the principal nobility were put to the sword, under the semblance of law, and amid the rejoicings for his coronation, exhibited such a striking instance of his malignant and implacable character, that, on the success of Gustavus Vasa, the spirit of resistance diffused itself rapidly from Sweden to Denmark; where he had exasperated his subjects by repeated oppressions, and the

* Dan. Ges. vol. 2. p. 94.

mournful recollections; when, suddenly an event occurred, which reminded the count how just his first conclusions were, namely, that if he did not go into voluntary exile, he should be banished by regal power.

About five o'clock one morning, a royal courier arrived at the count's door, announcing the ap-

confidence which he placed in the lowest and most worthless favorites.*

In 1523, Christian was publicly deposed by the states of Denmark, and the crown transferred to his uncle, Frederick duke of Holstein. This deposition was neither the consequence of Frederick's intrigues, nor of party

* The first of these favorites was the infamous Sigrebit, mother of the king's mistress Diveke. This artful woman, who was a native of Holland, and had kept an inn at Berghen in Norway, even after her daughter's death, retained such power that she might be styled prime minister: she was the only channel of favor, transacted all affairs of importance, had the care of the finances, superintended the customs of the Sound, and had, in a word, acquired such a wonderful ascendency over the infatuated monarch, that her influence was attributed to fascination. On the king's deposition, Sigrebit was so much detested, that, from apprehensions of the popular fury, she was conveyed in a chest on board the vessel which carried Christian from Denmark. Holberg adds, she consoled the king for the loss of his crown, by assuring him, that, through the emperor's interest, he could not fail of being chosen burgomaster of Amsterdam. The particulars of this woman's life, subsequent to her escape from Denmark, are not known.

The other favorite of Christian, no less infamous than the former, was Nicholas Slagelbec, originally a barber of Westphalia, and recommended to the king by his relation Sigrebit. He rendered himself so useful to Christian by his sanguinary advice at the massacre of

proach of a nobleman from the court: and almost before Ernestus was dressed, Major Harboe arrived. "I must see Count Rantzau immediately," said the major; "His excellency is not up." "Then you must conduct me to his bedroom." "Ho! ho!" thought the valet; "the guards are behind to take away the count, and perhaps

spirit; but occasioned by the just and universal detestation which pervaded all ranks of people, and had more the appearance of a new election on the demise of the crown, than of a revolution which deprived a despot of his throne. Christian himself was sensible of the general odium, and, though by no means deficient in personal courage, made not the least effort to retain possession of that throne which he had often dishonored. Quitting Copenhagen, he repaired to Antwerp, under the protection of Charles V. whose sister Isabella he had married. After many delays and solicitations at the different courts of Europe, he at length collected, by the emperor's assistance, a fleet and army, with which he invaded the Danish dominions: his attempts, however, proving unsuccessful, he fell, in 1542, into the hands of Frederick I. and was consigned a prisoner to the castle of Sonderborg, a strong fortress in the Isle of Alsen.

The place of his confinement was a dungeon, with a small window, admitting only a few rays of light, through

Stockholm, and by being the instrument of his cruelty, that he was rewarded with the archbishopric of Lunden. Not long afterwards, however, the king threw on his favorite all the odium of the massacre, and sacrificed him to the public vengeance: the unfortunate victim was first racked, and then burnt alive; exhibiting a melancholy example, what little confidence is to be reposed in the favor of a tyrant.

myself also!" There was no room for deliberation or delay; the valet therefore, with fear and trembling, introduced the major to Count Rantzau in his bed-room. The count awoke in an instant; and in the most careless and indifferent manner told Ernestus to go below, and stay there till he was called: then, without rising, but courteously

which his provisions were conveyed. Having entered this gloomy cell, with a favorite dwarf, the sole companion of his misery, the door was instantly walled up. Even the horrors of this situation were aggravated by the death of his only son John, who expired at Ratisbon in the fifteenth year of his age, and on the same day in which his father was taken prisoner. The premature decease of this accomplished prince, whom he tenderly loved, and on whom he rested his sole hopes of enlargement, reduced him to a state of despondency. After much anxious solicitude by what means he could convey intelligence of his dreadful situation to his daughter the electress Palatine, and to the emperor Charles V. the king prevailed on the dwarf to counterfeit sickness, and solicit his removal from prison for the recovery of his health. If successful, he was to seize the first opportunity of escaping from the Danish dominions to the court of the electress, that she might engage the emperor to intercede with the king of Denmark for some alleviation of her father's sufferings. The dwarf accordingly feigned sickness, was transferred to the neighbouring town, eluded the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape; but was overtaken at Rensburgh, scarcely a day's journey from the Danish confines.

Christian, frustated in this attempt, and deprived of his faithful associate, lingered for some time in total solitude;

asking the major to take a chair, he said, "Now, sir, please to explain the meaning of this unexpected honor?" The coolness of the count a good deal disconcerted the major, who began to apologise for the unpleasant errand on which he was arrived. "Pho," said the count, "do not mince the matter, man! but tell me, has his

until an old soldier, worn out with the fatigues of war, offered to share the king's imprisonment. This veteran, being immured in the dungeon, amused the royal prisoner with various anecdotes on the different princes and generals under whom he had enlisted, and by describing the expeditions and battles in which he had been present; and, as he had served from his earliest youth, was a person of much observation, and by nature loquacious, he assisted in relieving the *tœdium* of Christian's captivity. Nor did any event, scarcely the loss of his son, more sensibly affect the deposed sovereign, than the death of this soother of his misery, who expired in the dungeon.

After a confinement of eleven years in his original cell, Christian was at length removed, through the intercession of Charles V. to a commodious apartment in the same castle, provided with suitable attendants, and indulged with the liberty of visiting in the town, attending divine service in the public church, and hunting in the neighbouring district. Yet even this change of situation, which had been so long the sole object of his wishes, could not make him forget that he was still a prisoner; the recollection of which affected him occasionally to such a degree, that he would suddenly burst into tears, throw himself on the ground, utter the most bitter lamentations, and continue for some time in a state approaching to insanity. However deservedly odious Christian II.

royal highness the *Prince Regent* sent for my head? Am I your prisoner?" "That depends," said the major, "on the answer your excellency pleases to give to these despatches:" handing a packet to the count, who, in a careless way, broke the seal, and running his eye over the contents, without deigning a reply, rang his bell for his

may have appeared in the former parts of his life; yet his subsequent sufferings raise compassion; and it is a pleasing satisfaction to every humane mind, that he recovered from his despondency, and acquiesced in his fate with perfect resignation.

In 1546, after a confinement of sixteen years and seven months in the castle of Sonderborg, he was conveyed to the palace of Callenborg, in the Isle of Zealand, a place to which he was particularly attached. Christian III. repaired in person to Assens, received his fallen rival with great marks of attention, and promised him every comfort which could tend to alleviate his situation. These unusual honors, joined to his removal from a place where he had experienced so much misery, and the prospect of again inhabiting his favorite palace, excited transports of joy, and he compared himself to a person recalled from death.*

Being conducted to Callenborg, he had the satisfaction of finding these promises religiously fulfilled. He survived this happy change ten years; and his mind was so softened by adversity, that, old as he was, his death was hastened by affliction for the loss of his benefactor Christian III. He died on the 24th of January, 1559, in the

* "Quibus ille non secus animo exhilaratur, *ac si morte extractus, novam lucem intueretur.*" Cragii Annal. Christ. III. p. 324.

valet; to whom he said, "Order out horses and carriages immediately: I am going with Major Harboe to my seat at Aschborg: lose not a moment in getting my carriage ready: and do you follow me, after paying my bills, and bring with you all my luggage." He then ordered coffee and refreshments to be prepared for himself and the major, and desired that the royal courier might be hospitably entertained. The cool and tranquil carriage of the count filled Major Harboe with amazement, not unmixed with chagrin. As they sat at breakfast together, the major said, "Your excellency sees the alternative—perpetual banish-

78th year of his age, and in the 36th from the period of his deposition."*

In 1808, amongst a great number of loose paintings not usually exhibited to strangers, there was, in the Museum, in the king's palace, a full length portrait, large as life, of Christian the Second. To the best of my recollection the unhappy man was depicted in the garments he had on when, in 1553, he was exhumed, if the expression is allowable, from his dark and dreary dungeon at Sonderborg Castle. His aspect was wild, savage, and gloomy; his habiliments all in tatters. In Mr. Wolffe's *Northern Tour*, p. 18, there is a representation of him, dressed in royal robes, and wearing the order of the Elephant. Allowing for the difference of age and costume, the features appear the same in both representations; from which it is fair to infer it is a good likeness, as it unquestionably is a beautiful engraving. The story of Christian's amour with the fair Dyveke, daughter of Madame Sigrebit, is given at large in Mr. Wolffe's entertaining work. Mr. Coxe, vol. 5, p. 181, mentions a striking portrait of Christian the Second amongst the pictures of the Danish kings, that were exhibited in the palace of Fredericksborg.

ment from Zealand and Funen, or *compliance!* Is the alternative not worth a little deliberation?" "Not the delay of one moment," exclaimed the count: "were this stupid head of mine the object of your journey, instead of my immediate departure for Aschberg, you would have found me just as ready to have submitted to the stroke, rather than submit to set my lawful sovereign and the crown prince aside, and declare Prince Frederick regent."

The major could scarcely refrain from smiling at the satirical tone and manner in which Count Rantzau alluded to the gross blunder he had committed. Finding him inexorable, the major dropped that subject, and the discourse took a different turn: on the part of the count it was free and unembarrassed,—whilst Major Harboe laboured under evident restraint and embarrassment. He had the temerity, however, to remind his host that it was probable, when his excellency arrested Queen Matilda, he little expected he should so soon be surprised in his turn, before he was out of bed, by an order of perpetual exile! The old nobleman told the insolent courtier, that he presumed the honor of being the bearer of such a message, had in some measure blunted his sensibility. Touched by this reply, he earnestly entreated the count's pardon, which being granted as soon as asked, and the breakfast over, the major was surprised to see the carriage drawn up to the door and the count ready to depart. They

crossed the Little Belt that day, and slept at Hardersleben. At the end of the next day's journey they reached Sleiswick; and on the third, totally unawares and unexpected, they arrived at Aschberg. As soon as they had got within the castle, the count bade the major welcome; and invited him to remain as long as suited his convenience. Although some persons might have taken this as a polite hint, that the sooner he departed the more pleasant it would be, the major construed it literally, thanking his host with much ceremony; but said he should remain only a day to rest himself. The count ordered a noble entertainment to be served up in the state rooms. His domestics wore their state liveries. The table and side-board were covered by massive pieces of plate, curiously wrought, that different monarchs had presented to the illustrious warriors whose achievements rendered the name of Rantzau so renowned in history. His wines were exquisite; and whilst they dined, a crowd of rustics, dressed in their best apparel, waited on the count to welcome him home. A bevy of fine healthy girls brought him nosegays, and baskets of their choicest fruits; and the lawn being thrown open, opposite to the magnificent room where the count and his guest were sitting, they witnessed the affection and gaiety of heart with which a numerous and happy tenantry hailed their lord's return.

The following morning Major Harboe took a

formal leave of Count Rantzau; who, just as he mounted one of the finest chargers in the count's stud, asked him if he had no message to send to the queen mother. "None!" said he, "except you please to tell her majesty what a delightful spot Aschberg is, and how its lord was received." Nor did the major forget to report the enthusiasm with which the old nobleman was hailed by the soldiery on his journey, particularly by the veterans who had served under his command, by whom he appeared to be idolized. It was this popularity with the army that induced the queen mother to court his support with so much earnestness; and the same feeling prevented their instituting any legal process whereby his ruin might have been completed.

The unexpected arrival of Major Harboe at Odensee, and the sudden departure of Rantzau, prevented the latter from apprising Miss Livernet of this affair previous to his setting off for Aschberg. When the count hired a furnished house for himself, he took a smaller one for his mistress; sending his valet, under the name of Kruger, to Copenhagen, to request her return with the messenger. Ernestus reached the Princens Palace unobserved, and found Miss Livernet well in health, and delighted with the message; and not a little uneasy on her protector's account, who was extremely unpopular in the city, and anathematised by the court: his fall and banishment having excited vast surprise, and little commise-

ration. The reigning party were generally disliked, but they were also feared, and with that *respect*, which they shared in common with Satan, they were forced to be content. Miss Livernet and her waiting-maid returned with Ernestus, under the name of Mr. Kruger, to Odensee; and shortly after her father and brother followed. The count was rather embarrassed with this addition to his suite; and asked his mistress if her father was a member of the Burger-guard? "Yes, my lord, a serjeant." "Most excellent," said he; "then he shall wear a serjeant's uniform of my regiment!"—Thus, the old tailor was metamorphosed into a Holstein serjeant; but the good folks in the neighbourhood soon conjectured that he was more obliged for the count's favor to his daughter's beauty, than his military services. The brother of Miss Livernet was a capital dancer; but her connexion with Count Rantzau reached him, and he was discharged. Being apprehensive of a persecution, or desirous of billetting themselves upon the count, the father and son followed their daughter and sister to Odensee.

Such was the state of affairs on Count Rantzau's sudden departure. Ernestus knew he was to escort Miss Livernet to Aschberg; but he had not received any directions respecting her father and her brother. He therefore suggested that they should embark in a vessel then ready to sail for Lubeck, which city was only a few hours ride from Aschberg, and there wait further orders;

Miss Livernet's maid preferring a sail through the maze of islands, or the company of the younger Livernet, went by water to Lubeck; and Ernestus had the felicity of escorting the beautiful young mistress of Count Rantzau from Odensee to Aschberg. The weather was delightful; the journey picturesque; the travellers young and pleased with each other. They did not reach Aschberg quite so soon as the count expected; but they assured him, so many horses had fallen lame, wheels had come off, and accidents had happened, that it was astonishing they arrived as soon as they did!

They found the old count in high glee; his castle full of company, and nothing but feasting and revelry talked of as they approached the vicinity of Aschberg. The count gave the reins to magnificence and pleasure. Balls, concerts, masquerades, and rural sports, succeeded each other; at which, not merely the nobility in the neighbourhood assisted, but the wealthy sons of traffic from Hamburg, Altena, and Lubeck. Such revelry and sober dissipation had never been seen before, except on Matilda's recent visit; and Aschberg seemed more to resemble the country palace of a favourite minister of state, than the forced residence of a banished man.

I have not spared the count's vices. They were great and numerous; I ought not therefore to omit his virtues, amongst which, his generosity held the foremost rank. He might have been

regarded as a model of what a landlord should be, if he had not employed his fascinating manners, his polished address, his rank, and his gold, to corrupt the wives and daughters of his vassals. From his earliest youth he had given himself up to amatory pursuits. It was said of him by the ladies of Hamburg, that the count could never be forgotten at Aschberg, as long as the lineaments of his face were discernible amongst his vassals.*

He was delighted to see his farmers dress and live better than their neighbours. With all his errors, and the vast power that his high rank and the accursed feudal system gave him, he was never known to oppress his tenants, or sanction any act of fiscal injustice towards them.

He possessed several lordships besides Aschberg. He caused all his vassals to be apprised of his ensuing departure for a distant country, never to return; and also that it was his wish, before he went away, to secure all his tenants in their present posessions by granting them long leases, which, by the payment of a very moderate fine, might be renewed. He forgave all arrears to those who were poor, or had large families: increased the farms of those who had too little land: and to encourage them to plant fruit-trees

* This formed the blackest trait in the character of Count Rantzau: he carried vice and profligacy into the cabins of his poor illiterate bondsmen. It could scarcely be called seduction, for those who yielded were little better than his slaves.

and timber, he covenanted, that at the expiration of their lease, if their lords would not purchase at a fair valuation, they might remove the trees. As a count of the Roman empire, he possessed the power of life and death over his vassals; but as a man, he abhorred the brutal and degrading system. He held a local court of justice at Aschberg, not to enforce those odious rights, but to ratify and confirm all the grants he had made; so that his successor should not have it in his power, were he so inclined, to harass or oppress them. This solemnity over, he gave his vassals a general invitation to his castle: he had temporary sheds erected for their reception. He gave them such substantial feasts as the English barons are said to have displayed in days of yore. Tents and marquees were provided for the accommodation of the higher classes: a rustic fair was held, that was crowded with bands of music, players, and venders of all sorts of bagatelles. Such was the last splendid fête which this magnificent nobleman gave ere he took his last leave of his native home.

These festivities over, the count packed up the massive family plate, that had accumulated for centuries. The heavy frames of solid silver were taken from the large Venetian plates of glass that adorned the state apartments. The valuables of all sorts were removed; great part of which he sent to Hamburg to be converted into cash, and the funds remitted to Amsterdam and Paris. One of his last labours was to examine his papers, and

destroy those he did not wish to be seen. This was a painful task; for it brought once more under his eye the warm and grateful epistles written by the unhappy Struensee, when he looked up to Count Rantzau as his friend and patron. The sight of those papers touched his heart; nor could he help feeling remorse now that time had abated his resentments, and he was about to go into perpetual exile. If the firm texture of his mind had not been his shield, he must have dreaded an assassin in every stranger; as scarcely a day past when the Copenhagen post arrived, that he did not receive anonymous letters couched in the most opprobrious terms, and threatening him with death! These, whilst he lived in the midst of his tenants, he totally disregarded; but it struck him that he might be pursued abroad by assassins employed by Juliana or her cabal, who might be glad to be rid of one who knew so much of their wickedness: he therefore determined to travel *incog.* and if possible remain unknown.

Just before he set off from the spot where he drew his first breath, he called his valet before him, and asked had he any objection to travel with him to France and Italy? promising to provide for him in his will, if he accepted his offer, and conducted himself as he hitherto had done. Ernestus readily agreed. The count had already made Miss Livernet independent; and he gave her the offer of quitting, or going into exile with him; telling her, as he wished to travel really *incog.*

if she accompanied him, it must be in man's attire. The count was agreeably surprised to find that her only fears were that she should be left behind. Understanding that the count had sold his plate and other valuables, the generous girl offered him back, not only the money he had given her, but all that she had saved as first opera dancer. The old gentleman pressed her to his bosom, gave her a hearty kiss, and told her that all he wished was her company, if agreeable; and as to the sale of his plate, he did it to save the purses of his vassals.*

After he should have arranged his affairs at Amsterdam, the count intended to assume the name of Breitenburg,† and that Miss Livernet should pass as his nephew. He also designed to leave Aschberg privately; but the anxious vassals kept such vigilant watch, that touched by their affection, rather than influenced by pride, he set off in his state carriage and liveries, attended by his numerous tenantry on horseback and foot: amongst whom there was scarcely one but really felt regret at the count's departure.

Amongst the measures adopted by Count Rantzau to promote the future welfare of his vassals, it appears singular he did not at once emancipate them. Perhaps he feared, if he did so, it might have been construed as sedition, by his political enemies, and thus have injured the peasantry.

† There is, or *was*, a castle of that name not far from Itzehoe, which formerly belonged to the Counts Rantzau, and was formerly their principal residence.

When he arrived at the confines of his estates, the doors of his coach were opened to admit those who pleased to take a personal leave, when a scene ensued as would be difficult to describe; the grateful creatures embracing the count's legs and knees, kissing his hands, and bedewing them with their tears. Full two hours were passed in this melancholy ceremony: many fell on their knees by the road side to pray for blessings on their generous protector. And when at last the cavalcade proceeded, the grateful rustics stood uncovered till a turn of the road excluded any further view. Such were the honors spontaneously paid to Count Rantzau by his vassals on his going into perpetual banishment.

Shortly after the count had arrived at Hamburg, he was insulted by a Danish officer, who was in hopes that he might thereby promote his interest at court. The count was however so much respected by the burgomasters, who had not forgotten the services he rendered their city when seized by Frederick the Fifth, that the officer was arrested, escorted to the gates of Altena*, and forbade to return whilst the count remained in Hamburg. Notwithstanding this protection by the ruling magistrates, and the popularity excited by his recent and past hospitalities, Count Rantzau perceived,

* *Al-te-na!* i. e. *much too near*, said a Danish king as he surveyed the spot whereon Altena was afterwards built: the king spoke in reference to Hamburg; to which exclamation the name was owing.

wherever he went, that his appearance, excited hostile feelings. One morning, when the count felt more than commonly low and desponding, his young valet said, after much hesitation, "I am afraid what I am about to tell your excellency may displease you; at all events I know too well it will give you pain. It relates to a solemn promise I made to my late master:—may I proceed?" Count Rantzau coloured—Ernestus thought he was angry, and stopped speaking. The count, who was daily becoming nervous, struck by the solemn tone and manner of his servant, felt the blood rush to his furrowed cheeks, and seeing the effect it had on Ernestus, with the greatest mildness he encouraged him to proceed. With his eyes full of tears, and, in a mournful tone of voice, Ernestus thus obeyed—"As we are now out of Denmark, and not more than a day's journey from Zell, I could not reconcile it to my conscience to fail in the performance of a sacred and voluntary promise. I am sure you harbour no resentment against the dead; and your excellency has often, in my hearing, expressed respect and commiseration towards the queen." The count nodded assent; holding his left hand across his eyes. "Upon my first interview with my master after our arrest, I was of course violently affected; and not at my own captivity alone. He was sitting on the side of his bed; his head resting on his hand, looking the image of despair. My presence seemed to revive him a little. He called me to him, embraced

me, and resting his burning forehead on my shoulder, he kissed my cheek! I was so affected I sunk down at his feet; in which posture, in a few minutes afterwards, I handed him his purse. Whilst he leant and wept over me, he slipped from his bosom a miniature picture given him by the queen. It was her own likeness as she arrived in Denmark. The count whispered softly in my ear, 'If I escape death, preserve this for me! if I perish, as I expect I shall, convey it to the queen.' I put it in a private pocket in my waistcoat. When I was searched, it was not found. Here it is," said Ernestus, handing to the count a portrait, painted, I believe, by Reynolds, mounted in gold, and set with brilliants. The count looked at it with strong emotions: respect, commiseration, and remorse, were visible in his countenance. He turned pale as death, whilst the cheeks of Ernestus were covered with his tears. The count gazed mournfully on the portrait for a minute or more, and then exclaimed—" Unhappy lady, I solemnly take God to witness that if my treatment of you was harsh, my motives were merciful: but thy maledictions are fulfilling! already I am thrown down by those whom I set up! like thee, Matilda, am I in exile. Thy fall excited the warmest sympathy; mine, universal satisfaction. To avoid the finger of public scorn, or the less poignant stiletto of the assassin, I shall be reduced to lay aside my name. Even my ashes

shall find no sepulchre, except in a foreign land. No sculptured stone must tell whose bones rest there, or execrations will pursue me even beyond the grave; and perhaps my remains, torn from the tomb, may, like Struensee's, be scattered and devoured by the fowls of the air!" Never, at any previous moment, had Ernestus seen the count so extremely agitated. Some minutes elapsed ere he spoke to Ernestus: at last, in a subdued tone, he said to his weeping valet, "Go, liebe karl*, leave me, and return when the bell rings." It was a full hour before he was called. The count was calm, but his countenance bore more legible marks of the mental sufferings by which his bosom was rent. "You told me," said he, mildly, "it was a portrait of the queen; but you did not name the little cherub, whose likeness is concealed within the chrystal, under the crown and cipher wrought of the queen's hair?"—"I did not know of any such thing, your excellency," said Ernestus.—"Then see it now, my poor fellow," said the count. "I am sure it will present an object that will touch thy susceptible heart." He then moved a secret spring, and the astonished young man saw a miniature of the young princess Louisa Augusta, her celestial features dressed in smiles, and surrounded by budding roses. The likeness so strong,—so exquisitely drawn and

* An expression, answering in English to *my good fellow*: if addressed to an equal, it means *my dear fellow*.

painted, that its freshness, animation, and delicacy, seemed almost to equal the beautiful and innocent original. "It is the face of a cherub, delineated by the pencil of an angel," said the count: "Then that angel was the queen, your excellency; for I well remember, one morning as I was dressing the queen's hair,* that Lady Göhler asked to see the likeness of the young princess, and I am sure this is it; but it was not set." "How do you know it was painted by queen Matilda?" "Because on Lady Göhler saying it was executed in a manner superior to the best style of any professional artist; the queen replied, "If an artist loved his infant as tenderly as I love mine, natural affection would prompt him to excel himself." "Then it is her's indeed," exclaimed the count, "and I am weary of existence! I am half inclined to go to Zell; hand this precious relic to the queen, and end in her presence a life that is insupportable!" The remainder of that day he spent in his chamber, and told his valet to be ready to set off for Zell the following morning. Alarmed at his expressions, Ernestus went to the fair Livernet, and told her confidentially what had passed

Ernestus was reckoned the first friseur in the court; and often dressed the queen's hair, if her hair-dresser, Mr. Andreas Burchas were indisposed. Struensee was extremely particular as to his hair, which he wore dressed in the same manner as the queen's. His toilette was magnificent; and he was profuse in the use of the richest and most costly perfumes: in every point he was an epicure and voluptuary.

that moment between him and the count: she shook her head, and said, "Depend on it, ———" (calling him by his surname) "the arrest of Queen Matilda will lead to the death of the count. I know his heart is secretly a prey to the most deadly anguish. With all his faults he is generous, munificent, and kind. He has been out-witted by a fiend. I agreed to travel with him, because, in the first place, I really respect him; and would not appear that mercenary being that was solely attracted by his rank and high estate, and who fled when adversity fell upon him. I have witnessed paroxysms that have made me shudder. In those moments I have found myself able to subdue his rage and recall his reasoning powers. That forms a second cause why I have agreed to accompany the count in his undefined travels, and in the disguise of a man." She *might* have added a third, more potent, perhaps, than either; *i. e.* her secret attachment to Ernestus, whose handsome face and figure, and kind disposition, had made a complete conquest of her heart.

Miss Livernet felt more uneasiness than she chose to express. Her confidence in the discernment of the blue-eyed Norwegian was not small. She went with a palpitating bosom to the count; and suddenly assuming a gaiety that was a stranger to her heart, ran smiling into his room. She found him with a pistol in his hand that he appeared to be loading. His looks were wild and

haggard. Turning his glaring eye-balls towards the door, he asked her sternly how she dare approach unbidden, and without notice? Instead of reply, she rushed to his bosom, and throwing her arms round his neck, entreated him to leave Hamburg, and not risk his life by a duel with that wretched parasite, who hoped for eclat and preferment, as the reward of his insolence. "Your character for courage, my dear count," said the artful pleader, (who marked the intended suicide, but glanced only at a duel), "is too well established to suffer by your refusing to meet every desperado who may dare to challenge you." The count, *deceived* in thinking Sophia Livernet was deceived, suffered her to return the pistols to the case whence he had thus taken them. Kissing off the tear that glistened in her bright eyes, the volatile old nobleman forgot, in the caresses of that fascinating girl, the dreadful purpose he had in view when she entered: for, goaded to desperation by the storm of passions that raged in his bosom, he had, in a frantic moment, seized his pistols; and if his faithful guardian had not drawn the charges from his pistols, when he returned to his quarters the night before, his own hands had terminated his existence.

The accomplishments of Miss Livernet were not confined to her graceful dancing: she had a sweet voice, and was enthusiastically devoted to music. A pedal harp stood in the room, and

some music books lay strewed on a table. She took her seat at the harp, and played some plaintive German airs, accompanied by her dulcet voice, that rapidly drove away the melancholy which had filled the count's bosom; who was a votary of Apollo as well as of Venus. Fascinated by the skill and pathos of the fair girl, the enraptured nobleman clasped her in his arms, and said, with vehemence, "Sophia! thou art dearer to me than all my possessions beside! Say, my beloved, how can I recompense thee? Speak boldly, for were it to make thee Countess Rantzau, I would not refuse!" Smiling at his gallantry, and perhaps exulting in the power of beauty and music, she said, "Promise me, then, upon your word and honor, never more, be your trials what they may, to think of suicide." The count was amazed. In a moment he recollected the circumstance of his pistols being unloaded when he thought to have found them charged; and he *felt* that to her vigilance he was indebted for his life. For some moments he was unable to speak. At last he said, in a solemn tone, "I promise thee, noblest of women, never to raise my hand against my life; and if you will accept that hand, thou shalt be my countess."

Sophia thanked him for the first part of his promise; and with ineffable sweetness told him she would rather possess his love as his mistress, than run the risk of being despised as his wife. "Reflect, my lord," said she, "on the ridi-

cule and disgrace you must encounter were you to marry me, and have a *tailor* for your father-in-law! I should be cursed as a wicked, cunning jade; and ten to one, if you died first, but your heirs would find means to annul the marriage, and strip me of my fine title! No, my dear count, I dare not venture to become your wife. Only yesterday morning, dressed as a country girl with a basket of flowers, I followed amongst three or four blooming lasses into your august presence. Because I had changed the colour of my hair, rouged my cheeks, and learnt my *plaat Duitsch** pretty well, my sagacious lord did not know me! yet you gave me the preference; kissed me till I trembled for my rouge; and told me to be at the back door at eight o'clock: and here, your excellency, are the necklace and the ear-rings that you then gave me." The count could scarcely believe his eyes. "What the devil does all this mean?" said he; "Were you indeed the flower girl whose bewitching eyes and well-formed bosom, caught my attention?" "Yes, *indeed*, my lord! I am that very girl, over whose virtue you thought to triumph, by tempting her avarice.—As your mistress, my lord count, I can bear these *youthful* sallies; but as a countess, I should perhaps trouble you with complaints or remonstrances. I might say, if at twenty years of age, I were content

* The language spoken by the country people who live in the vicinity of Hamburg, is called *plaat Duitsch*, *i. e.* low German.

with a lover of three score, I could not tell why my husband required a dozen flower girls to attend his toilette every morning, and should soon offend you; and shall therefore never accept the honor of being your countess!" He laughed heartily at her lively wit. No longer thinking of Matilda, the portraits, or of suicide, he that day gave himself up to the fascinating girl, who stepped a minuet more gracefully than any woman in Denmark; and to please the count, exerted her talents to the utmost. She put on the costume in which the day before she had beguiled him of his trinkets! She sung, she danced, she played; she encouraged him to smoke. He drank a whole bottle of Chateu Margeau.—At last, he sung some favorite duets with his attractive mistress; and giving the reins to dalliance, swore that he was still the happiest man alive; and never more would suffer the blue devils to get the upper hand of him! In the course of the evening he told her of that secret she already knew from Ernestus; and the tender-hearted girl, as she surveyed the portraits, dropt a tear on the high-wrought trinket. She strove, however, to suppress her emotions; and in a careless tone, said, "You see I could deceive your excellency: shall I carry this precious picture to the queen? She will not recollect one whom she never saw except in a ballet." The idea pleased the versatile count, who, within the last twenty-four hours, had experienced the pangs of the fellest remorse, and the thrilling delights of refined sensuality. Look-

ing archly in her face, he said, "Shall Ernestus attend you? I know you have a good opinion of that youth, and perhaps would rather be *his* wife than *my* countess?" The playful girl parried this unexpected hit by saying, that next to his lordship's company, none other would be more welcome. Ernestus was delighted with the charge. He dressed himself in a handsome suit of mourning. Miss Livernet arrayed her lovely person in the picturesque habit of a wealthy Hamburg merchant's daughter; and they set off on their destination time enough to reach it ere night. They crossed the dreary tracts of sand, and having arrived at Zell, they went to the principal inn. After having taken some refreshment, the young travellers, full of the interesting object of their mission, went to reconnoitre the present residence of Queen Matilda, in whose praise the people of the inn were profusely lavish; and not less so of their execrations against those who had occasioned her misfortunes. "It is well the count is not here, Ernestus," said Miss Livernet, "to hear this." "It is well, indeed!" the young man replied, "I often shudder hearing such terrible things as are said of him at Hamburg, particularly by the English." "I wish," said Sophia, "our dear count was safe out of Hamburg, for I think he would not be in as great danger any where else." Ernestus shook his head, and said,—the presentiment on his mind was, that he would come to an untimely end. Just as Ernestus said this, the guide who went be-

fore them made a halt, and told them, they were arrived near the palace; and asked if he should inquire for any one within? This intelligence arrested their discourse. They saw they were arrived at the outskirts of the town, and that before them appeared a large fortification, surrounded by a broad moat full of water. All was still and silent. Dark masses of building appeared to rise within above the ramparts. All they heard, save their own voices, was the heavy tread of a couple of sentinels upon the drawbridge. The moon burst forth in great splendor as a dark cloud passed away, and for a few moments shewed the form of the palace before them. It appeared old, decayed, and gloomy. "In what part of this pile does the queen reside?" said Ernestus. "In the square building in the centre: it was once a very grand palace, before the last duke surrendered the duchy of Zell to his brother, George the First, king of England." "Grand palace!" said Ernestus; "and is this the residence of her who was mistress of Christianborg!" "You are a Dane," said the guide. Do you wish to see your queen? She is very fond of seeing her subjects, particularly if they bring her any news of her children." "Then, sir, we have news she will be glad to hear," said Miss Livernet. Ernestus then asked the guide what Danish attendants the queen had with her? "*Not many*, I should hope," said the Hanoverian proudly; "but here comes one who can tell you more!" As he said this, Stuart came up, and in a tone

of pleasure and surprise, said "My God! is it possible! is this not Ernestus?" The meeting was alike unexpected and agreeable. Ernestus told him that the lady with him was from Hamburg, and invited Stuart to their quarters. The two domestics had, of course, a world of questions to ask and answer, and the result was, that after Stuart was made acquainted with the purport of their journey, he advised Ernestus not to appear unless the queen inquired for him. "She is now," said he, "become tranquil, resigned, and in some measure reconciled to her condition. The sight of you may make all her wounds bleed afresh: let therefore Miss Kruger see her first, to give this valued present. If the queen asks to see you, this lady will say that you are near. A cousin of her's, a princess of Saxe Gotha, is now with her majesty. They are just returned from a tour to see the castle of Ahlden, about twenty miles distant, where the wife of George the First was confined so many years. Neither the country, nor the castle, nor the sad history connected with it, are calculated to cheer her spirits. You would scarcely know her, so greatly is she changed: and this visit, though it will please her, yet I know it will almost break her heart. Come you to-morrow morning about nine: I will tell her that a lady from Hamburg wishes to see her alone and on very particular business." Then, looking kindly at Sophia, the faithful domestic said, "You need no better passport, madam, than your own beautiful face."

Sophia Livernet, dressed in her Hamburg costume, (that was rich and highly becoming,) at the appointed time was at the portal of the palace. Stuart was there waiting. He conducted the fair stranger through various apartments that bore evident marks of past grandeur and present decay. In one, that was furnished in the modern style, he asked her to wait whilst he went to announce her arrival.

He returned instantly, and such was the agitation of the queen; and her eagerness to see this fair stranger, of whose beauty and graceful demeanor Stuart had spoken so highly; that she met her near the door of her breakfast-room. In the kindest tone of voice, and benignity of aspect, the graceful queen encouraged Sophia to speak without fear or reserve.

In this interview Miss Livernet was no actress. Her intelligent countenance shewed that her bosom labored with some important secret. Her modest look and respectful demeanor were pledges for the sincerity of her good will towards the august personage she had the honor of beholding. The queen was struck no less by her beauty, than with the elegance of her form, and the propriety of her carriage. Had she been bred in a court she could not have shewn more true politeness. Taking her by the hand, Matilda said to her in German, "Stuart tells me you come to bring me tidings of my children. Do not keep me in suspense, but tell me, are they well? How is my dear

boy, and my darling Louisa Augusta?" As the queen spoke, Sophia dropped on one knee. With her head half averted, not to disturb her majesty by too rude a gaze, she gently held towards her the miniature of her child. The moment her eye caught the well-known portrait of her infant, she exclaimed—"Heavens, it is my Louisa!—where! when! how! did you procure this portrait? tell me, ere my heart bursts with expectation?" "It was given by a deceased nobleman to his valet, and by that person consigned to my hands to be delivered to your majesty." "A thousand and a thousand thanks, sweet girl, for the precious gift. See how the innocent smiles at her unhappy mother! Never whilst I have life shall this dear image be parted from my bosom." During this time the beauteous stranger remained kneeling. Presently the queen, whose emotions nearly overpowered her, exclaimed,—"Forgive me, young lady, for suffering you to remain in that posture: let a grateful mother thus thank you for the most welcome gift that you could have brought; my babes alone excepted." Saying this, she raised her to her bosom, and kissed her cheek; then leading her to a chair, commanded her to be seated, who shewed the truest sense of politeness by instantly obeying.

The queen shed tears in profusion: they relieved her full-fraught heart. She kept kissing the picture of her infant with more real devotion than ever the most zealous catholic felt for the relic of

a deity or saint. Then looking wistfully at Miss Livernet, she said—her lips quivering as she spoke—" How did this escape the lynx-eyed vigilance of my destroyers? Where is the valet? ah! what a dreadful hour was that when last I saw him! My heart has since had many trials; and this is not the least painful. I am now," continued she, " a veteran in sorrow, though so young in years. Fate has crowded into the last ten months of my life more misery than, if spun out to the length of a century, might have embittered every hour!" Then adverting to Ernestus, she said—" He must have run great risks in saving this for me. I wish to see him, and yet perhaps I ought not, on account of the recollections it will occasion." Fixing her eyes on the young stranger, Matilda suddenly exclaimed — "Surely I have seen your face before! Were you ever in Copenhagen?" " I have been there, madam, and have had the honor of seeing your majesty at the opera." "Ah!" said she, rapidly, " that is it. You resemble a favorite dancer belonging to the opera." Matilda then asked if Ernestus was still in Denmark? and was told he was in Zell. " I respect his delicacy in sending the portrait by a female," said the queen. Then taking from her side a gold watch, and superb appendages, gave it to her fair guest, saying, " Accept of this as a memorial of my esteem. Before you leave Zell, I wish to converse with you again. And should you ever stand in need of a friend, you may reckon on me as one who will

never fail you. Tell Ernestus," said she, "I will see him two hours hence." The queen then rose, and her fair guest, in a lowly posture, with equal grace and reverence kissed her offered hand; Matilda saluting Sophia on the cheek. Stuart then conducted Miss Livernet to the apartment of Madame ——— a lady of her household, who kindly pressed her to take refreshments; discoursing with her in the most affable manner, whilst Stuart went to prepare Ernestus for the approaching interview.

The valet felt infinitely embarrassed on account of being in the service of Count Rantzau. He had not been candid enough to tell that circumstance to Stuart; and he was indecisive how to act, and half inclined to conceal it. He was undetermined till after he found himself in the presence of his queen.

Matilda received him seated on a sofa. She turned her head aside, covering her fair face with a handkerchief: her whole frame shook, and she appeared almost suffocated with painful feelings. Full ten minutes elapsed ere she became sufficiently composed to ask him questions; and the valet, not less agitated, could scarcely reply. Her first questions were about her children. Matilda looked much disappointed when she learnt that he had no recent intelligence to give. She then commanded him to relate his own adventures. In a tremulous tone he narrated the leading incidents that had occurred. After

several questions of inferior interest,—waiting as it were to acquire firmness to put *that* which had its fibres entwined in her heart's core, Matilda, in a manner indescribably touching and mournful, said, "I have been told that recourse was had to actual torture to force *him* to accuse me. Tell me, Ernestus, without duplicity or reserve, do you believe that my merciless and unrelenting enemies really had recourse to an expedient so wicked and so terrific?" Her head was bowed down as she asked this question so important and so painful. Her fair bosom rose and fell, undulating from intensity of feeling. Her voice, scarcely audible, was tremulous, and subdued. From her fine eyes tears of shame, sorrow, and remorse fell copiously; and though the most vivid recollections of the lost, fallen, guilty Struensee, filled her whole heart and shook her lovely frame; though his *name* quivered on her lips, her tongue gave it not utterance. Full of sensibility, and weighed down by emotions almost too powerful to be sustained, Ernestus, in a manner peculiarly solemn and emphatical, caught at this moment to do justice to the unhappy Struensee, by saying, "Yes, gracious queen, I do most firmly believe that my late unfortunate master was actually tortured by the application of thumb-screws, before he could be wrought on to act as your majesty's enemies desired; and he was menaced, if he refused, with the cruelest tortures to which a human being could be subjected."—As he spoke, Matilda raised her drooping head, her

mental suffering evidently abated, and her sorrow soothed by this communication. The queen clasped her hands, and with mild composure exclaimed, "I forgive him! with all my heart I forgive him, and I hope that God will forgive him also! Count Rantzau treated me very harshly; but he had a desperate undertaking to accomplish, and I provoked him to the utmost of my power. I am endeavoring to forgive him also. He was once my friend. I hear that he has fallen into disgrace; is banished to his estates; and is now at Hamburg. The cause of his disgrace is variously stated; perhaps you can tell me the real cause?" "That I can, my gracious queen. The queen-mother, Juliana, General Eichstedt, General Kohler Banner, and M. Guldberg, were all agreed to make Prince Frederick, *Regent*, during the life of the king, my sovereign, and of the crown prince. Without the concurrence of Count Rantzau they dared not make the attempt. The count, madam, conceiving that the king and the crown prince might both be set aside, or that something bad might befal them, sternly refused his assent. He reproached those persons who had proposed and seconded the measure as being traitors to their king and country: this, your majesty may believe me, was the immediate cause of Count Rantzau's disgrace and exile!" The queen heard him with amazement: incredulity was marked on her fine, sorrow-stricken features. "What!" said she, "do you tell me, that he who

tore me from my palace, my husband, and my babes; —who has blasted mine honor, and destroyed my peace of mind for ever,—has been the saviour of my husband and my son; and for their sakes braved the resentment of that cruel woman who reigns in my place?" "It is true, my gracious queen; all this has Count Rantzau done!" Matilda, with strong passion, exclaimed, "Incomprehensible man! if this prove true, I can forgive him all the injuries that he has done me! not long would my sweet Frederick live, if his cruel uncle were once declared Regent! But are you not deceived? how did you acquire the knowledge of those important facts?" "From the count's own lips, gracious queen. I attended his excellency in his carriage as he returned in disgrace from the palace of Fredericksborg. He exclaimed, 'I have twice saved my king and country in the hour of peril: I will save it a third time!'* He never returned to court again. Towards my unfortunate master, he generally expressed hatred; but of your majesty he has ever spoken with the utmost respect." The queen paused for a short time; and in rather a hasty manner said, "How came you, who appear to deplore your late master's wretched fate, to take service with Count Rantzau?" To

* These were the count's words as he left the palace. He alluded to the hand he had in the fall of Peter the Third; by which the invasion of Denmark was averted; and next to the arrest of Count Struensee.

this question, Ernestus replied by telling the truth; to which he was tempted by the altered manner in which she spoke of Count Rantzau. The queen said, "My inclinations would have led me to take you into my service, but for the constant recurrence of things I wish for ever to banish from my memory." She at absorbed in thought; at last she said, "The facts you have communicated to me, give a new face to the part that Count Rantzau has acted; and it helps to forward my wish to tear from my heart all animosity against him: yet, detesting as I know he did, the disposition of the queen-mother; how was it possible, without becoming her confederate in my ruin, he could ever think of coalescing with her? Tell me without reserve what you know on this subject." Ernestus hesitated, and remained silent. "Do not feel any dread of hurting my feelings: tell me his real motives, if you know them." "I verily believe, most gracious queen, that Count Rantzau knew that a plan was in agitation to take the life of the king!" At these words the tears burst from her eyes. She wrung her hands; and appealing to the Almighty, declared her ignorance of any such intention. "It must be," said she, "an artifice of the count's to cover his malicious designs." The valet was again silent. "Am I to think," said she, in a tone of agony, "that *you* believed him? did *you* ever hear or see any thing to induce you to think that any such design existed?" "If I must reply, it is, and it has for up-

wards of a year past been my opinion, that if the two counts had not fallen as they did, the king would not have long survived. Count Rantzau, madam, ever felt tenderness and compassion towards your majesty; and I sincerely believe it was to save your majesty's life, he had you removed from Copenhagen!"—This avowal evidently wrung her heart; she gave vent to her feelings in a shower of tears. "Oh, God!" said Matilda "in what a fearful labyrinth have I been entangled! I am, and ever shall be wretched: but what would have been my state, if such dreadful designs were really cherished, and had been executed! You have been," said the queen to Ernestus, "too often a witness of my errors for me to hesitate thus to humble myself before you. When you return to Hamburg, tell Count Rantzau that I thank him for his efforts to save my son and his sovereign; and tell him too, that with my whole soul, I fully and freely forgive him." Ernestus could not contain his satisfaction at this noble conquest of herself. "I believe in my heart, madam," said he, "that the count has never enjoyed one happy hour since that fatal day. Your generous forgiveness will restore peace to his bosom, and take a mountain from off his mind." She then entered into an inquiry as to the circumstances of Ernestus; and told him in all cases of adversity to apply to her; presenting him with a purse, that she told him was the work of her own hands, containing a hun-

dred guineas: he had then the honor of kissing her hand, and took his leave.

When he repaired to Stuart and Sophia, his looks shewed how powerfully his mind had been agitated: nor did he keep them long in suspense. "Thanks be to God," said he fervently, "the dear queen has forgiven Count Rantzau, and has authorised me to assure his excellency of her full and entire forgiveness!" "How greatly," said Ernestus, "is the queen changed! her sufferings have indeed not been lost on her. The sedate and melancholy cast of countenance that she has attained, renders her beauty more striking; she is much less corpulent; and altogether her appearance infinitely improved." "Did the queen name Struensee to you?" said Stuart: "Never once," replied Ernestus: "she spoke of him, but his name never passed her lips." "Nor have I heard her name the guilty and unfortunate man," rejoined Stuart, "since her residence here; where, without flattery, I can affirm she is idolized by all who witness her piety and tranquil resignation." During the absence of Ernestus, Sophia explained to his friend his present situation with Count Rantzau.

The rest of this day they spent in seeing Zell and its vicinity. On the following morning Miss Livernet was ordered to attend the queen; who asked her many questions respecting Count Rantzau, saying, "I cannot help thinking that you have moved in a higher sphere of life than your present

costume, graceful and becoming as it is, announces." "I can endure dissimulation no longer. I am not indeed, my beloved and injured queen, what I seem to be, nor worthy to appear in your august presence: but I come with a heart filled with love and reverence towards you!" The queen looked earnestly in her face, and with a smile of the truest benevolence, said, "At last I recognise in you, Mademoiselle Livernet, whom Count Rantzau induced to leave the opera! I really thought I knew your fine features the moment I saw you; and now let me bid you welcome in your proper name." From this generous girl, Matilda learnt enough fully to convince her that Rantzau was truly penitent for all the indignities he had occasioned; and that to his unshaken fidelity her son probably owed his life: "For," said she, "not only did Count Rantzau enter his protest in the journal of the council of state, but he sent a copy to Stockholm and London, and to each of the leading nobles in Denmark, the Duchies, and in Norway." The queen was so pleased with these proofs of attachment to her husband and her son, that she conquered her resentment so completely as to write to the count, assuring him of her entire forgiveness; thanking him for his recent exertions in favor of her beloved Frederic and his father; and adding, if he wished to retire to Great Britain, she would write to London to prepare the way for his being received.

The first and the last anxiety of this amiable

penitent, (for such she really was,) related to her absent children. Sensible of this, and willing to pour all the consolation into her bosom that was possible, Mademoiselle Livernet related to the young queen the adventure that befel Ernestus with the skipper, old Peter Nielsen, who took the count in his yacht from Copenhagen to Warrenborg. The queen recollected the circumstance, and commanded Sophia to proceed; who then told Matilda that she thought this old skipper would be the most secure channel whereby to receive, from time to time, authentic intelligence of her children. The queen eagerly embraced the idea. Miss Livernet wrote to a confidential friend of her's, a lady who was related to the head nurse of the young princess, to meet her at Hamburg; assuring the queen that she would not go till every thing should be arranged, to secure to her a regular correspondence,—"Till time and circumstances permit your majesty once more to meet your children and re-ascend your throne." "Oh, if that happy day should ever come! But," continued Matilda mournfully—"it cannot be! I am fallen, fallen, never to rise again!" Such were the last emphatic words on that subject spoken to Miss Livernet. When Ernestus and his fair companion returned to Hamburg, they found the old count very impatient, and not a little under the influence of '*the blue devils*,' not knowing what construction to put on their long stay: but when his beauteous mistress told him in what manner

they had been received; and when she handed to him the brief but comprehensive letter written by the well-known hand of the queen; he kissed it with a devotion and gratitude scarcely less ardent than Matilda's caresses of the portrait he had returned. "Now," said the count, "I can brave the finger of public scorn; the dagger of the assassin: I can live tranquil, and meet death without terror."

The joy and agitation of the count was extremely great. Sophia felt towards him, a strong and grateful friendship; she flattered herself that he might give up his romantic project of travelling to Italy *incog.* She felt deep aversion to assuming male attire; and therefore strove with all the blandishments of which she was mistress, to induce him to accept Queen Matilda's mediation, and retire to Great Britain.—The Count heard her with silent attention, and smiling said, "You have not, my Sophia, duly considered the subject; or you would never advise Count Rantzau to insult by his presence, the sovereign whose sister his hand hurled from a throne to a prison." The fair pleader was silenced, and the tour southward persevered in. But when Sophia told him, of what she had promised the queen, it appeared to give him very great satisfaction.

In less than a fortnight Pieter Nielsen and his yacht arrived at Hamburg, bringing the lady to whom Miss Livernet had written. What pleased that kind-hearted girl most of all, was the ani-

mated and correct likenesses recently taken of the crown prince, and the infant princess Louisa Augusta.

Sophia's friend had always commiserated the queen's sufferings. She had lost her children when young by shipwreck; whence she entered the readier into the plan of correspondence proposed by the count's generous mistress: Sophia scarcely allowed her time to rest before a carriage was ordered, and attended by Ernestus, set out again for Zell. Their arrival was announced by Stuart. Those whose situation it has been to be separated from their infants whom they loved with intense affection, never perhaps more to behold them, may guess—for I cannot describe,—the emotions of Queen Matilda on seeing the pictures of her children, taken within a few days of reaching her hand! This arrangement, that was made on a just and economical plan, was continued undiscovered till the death of the queen; and formed one of the greatest alleviations that her sorrows received.

When Pieter Nielsen, heard from Ernestus of the reconciliation that had taken place between the queen and Count Rantzau; and found that the correspondence of which he was to be the medium, was known to him; he condescended to take the count's hand, and tell him he could now indeed believe he was become a repentant sinner; and he hoped he "would save his soul alive." The count took his coarse compliment in good

part; and every thing being arranged, he soon afterwards set out for Amsterdam, attended by the accomplished Miss Livernet, who daily grew more and more dear to him as her various excellencies displayed themselves; and also by his favorite valet Ernestus; intending in that metropolis to hire servants who should know nothing of his rank or country.

The MS. from which these pages have been copied, closes at this period; *i. e.* the autumn of 1772. The further destiny of the fair Dane and faithful Norwegian is unknown: but the count, notwithstanding his reconciliation with the forgiving Matilda, fell by the hand of an English officer at Avignon,* who had sworn to avenge her fall. He was buried in that city.

The errors of the queen were obliterated from the bosom of every gentle and cultivated member of society, as well as from the minds of the benevolent illiterate. Never was self-conquest more complete, or reformation more perfect. She fell at last, a victim to her sensibility. Poor Alexander Stuart fell ill of an infectious fever; she was admonished by her physicians not to see him, or go near his apartment; she disregarded their advice, went to look once more at her faithful servant, caught the dreadful disease, and died within a few days after him.

Such was the melancholy and untimely end of

* Said to be Captain O——— who accompanied Matilda to Denmark; and held a commission in the Danish horse-guards.

a princess who was, in her most censurable moments, an object of pity and indulgence; and whose strong and incessant efforts to atone for a single error, displayed the noblest virtues that adorn the human mind. Had her days been spared till her gallant son broke the fetters of Juliana and her crafty son, and drove them into a forced retirement; she would no doubt have been recalled to participate of his power, and press once more her children to her bosom.

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*Remarks on the preceding Danish MS.*

At the close of a narrative abounding with such extraordinary incidents as the preceding; tinged, as it unquestionably is, with an air of romance, the translator of that manuscript, and author of the subsequent portions of the history of Sweden and Denmark, feels it his duty to express his opinion as to the degree of confidence that he places on its veracity. He fully and unequivocally credits every particular relative to the rise and progress of Struensee's fatal amour with Queen Matilda; the subsequent licentiousness of her court; the particulars of the arrest and behaviour of Struensee; the rankling envy, insatiate malice, and aspiring ambition of Juliana Maria; and the strict accuracy of the motives and adventures imputed to Count Rantzau. In short, the chief points on which he feels any doubt, are those which attribute the me-

ditated murder of Christian the Seventh, when a child, to Juliana; and the almost incredible assertion of her having so totally lost sight, not merely of her dignity, but even of her sex, as to have had recourse to those atrocious means to destroy his physical and intellectual powers, that are imputed to her. The peculiar features of secret history connected with Gustavus the Third, and the birth of the ex-king of Sweden, are correctly stated. On this side the water, national prejudices have weighed and still weigh heavily, against Juliana: but the more serious the charges adduced, the stronger and more conclusive should be the evidence. The translator would have expunged those passages from his version, if those charges had not, in Latrobe and other authors, been long since before the world. They certainly are *plausible*, and that is all that justice admits of his saying. Between the servile flattery, nay, the *idolatry* of her partisans,* and the frightful portrait drawn of

* "The following extract is taken from a letter written in German, and afterwards translated into Danish and French, by one *Mr. Helfried*, for the express purpose of promulgating Struensee's disgrace, to whom he owed his rise and fortune; which letter was addressed on this occasion to the king of Denmark, by Mr. Suhm, conseiller de conference." Vide Wolffe's *Northern Tour*, pp. 86 to 90.

"Blessed be Juliana! and extolled the name of Prince Frederick! Thanks to all good patriots, who from pu motives tore the bandage from thine eyes that thou m see clear; who avenged thee and thy kingdom; risked their lives for thy deliverance; and who r

her in the preceding manuscript, it is difficult to decide as to the real character of Juliana. That she was a woman of aspiring ambition, eager and ardent in her wishes for regal sway, and an adept in political intrigues, cannot be successfully denied. The conduct of Matilda and Struensee sanctioned the violence adopted to snatch the reins of government from their feeble hands. And that if Juliana could, she would have set aside the succession of the present king, may be safely admitted. And if Count Rantzau had not, by his resolute

thee to thy true and genuine power! In truth it was high time; for I saw the citizen draw his sword against his fellow-citizen, and those who were otherwise peaceable were urged on to murder. Perhaps in a few days thy residence might have fallen a prey to the all-devouring flames; and Denmark and Norway, that wish for nothing more than the happiness of their kings, might have been reduced to despair. Look now, oh king! at the joy that sparkles in the eyes of thy subjects; regard and reflect on their spontaneous gladness.

"Our blood shall flow for thee, for Juliana, for Frederick! Who does not praise and honor that dangerous, that honourable night, which broke our chains, and caused us to become again a people? Glorious, eventful night! future Homers and Virgils shall sing thy praise. As long as Danish and Norwegian bravery shall live, so long shall the fame of Juliana and Frederick endure,—but not increase, for that is impossible."

For such readers as may not have seen any work examining the fate of those persons who were arrested with [illegible]en Matilda, an extract is subjoined containing the re[illegible] information; viz.—

conduct, as a member of the council of state, frustrated the plan formed in 1772 of naming her son as regent, in all probability the present king had never ascended the throne. With all these faults on her head, Juliana must still be regarded as a woman of very superior capacity. Weak monarchs are generally seen surrounded by ministers of feeble intellects; they appear to feel a sort of instinctive envy and unconquerable dread of the proximity of ministers gifted with great and powerful minds:

"Madame Von Göhler was released from her confinement in her own house, but ordered never to appear at court. Rear-admiral Hansen was deprived of his seat at the board of admiralty. Lieutenant-colonel Hesselberg, and the diplomatic counsellor Sturz, were ordered to live in a small town in Schleswig; the former upon a stipend of 300, and the latter of 500, dollars. Lieutenant Aboe *was acquitted of every charge against him*, and banished the realm for the term of two years. The counsellor of state Willebrandt, and the royal physician Berger, were banished the metropolis, upon a stipend of 300 dollars each; and the latter was ordered to spend the remainder of his life at Aalborg in Jutland. There remained still three prisoners, upon whose fate the judges could not speedily decide: these were General Göhler, Colonel Falkenschjold, and the first commissioner of finance, Struensee. The sentence pronounced upon the first, served as a specimen of what the others might expect. This brav warrior was deprived of his post, his rank, and his pa was banished the islands of Seeland, Fühnen, and duchy of Schleswig; and reduced to an annual stipe 1000 dollars; *because*, according to the very wo

yet Juliana Maria selected, as her ministers, none but men of superior capacity; and judging of her by *the company she kept,* the result is favorable. If her character had been so excessively depraved, would Count Bernstorff have accepted a place under her?—These remarks, the author thinks are requisite to liberate the mind of his reader from the very unfavorable impression the preceding chapters are calculated to produce, ere he proceeds with the original memoirs that follow.

his sentence, *he had given cause of suspicion.* The spite of Prince Frederic dictated the sentence of Colonel Falkenschjold: he was deprived of his command, and of his post as royal chamberlain; and banished for life to Münkholm, a fortress situate in the most northerly part of Norway, where he was allowed only half a dollar a day for his subsistence: he was twenty-seven years of age, and no crime could be laid to his charge, but his friendship for Struensee.—Struensee, the commissioner of finance, who after the execution of his brother had been thrown into irons, was obliged to petition for his release: upon which his papers and effects were restored to him; but a promise was exacted from him, that he never would write or speak upon the revolution." Latrobe, pp. 254, &c.

## CHAP. IX.

*The Danish court after the fall of Struensee.—Wise and dignified conduct of George the Third.—Memoir of Count Andreas Petrus Bernstorff.—A celebrated tourist quoted, and censured.—Violation of the Danish flag.—Source of that abuse.—Its consequence.—The armed neutrality of the northern powers.—Count Bernstorff retires.—The Crown Prince Frederick seizes the reins of Government.—Count Bernstorff restored.*

The protestant interest of Europe; the commerce and politics of Great Britain; and perhaps the personal feelings of our king; combined their influence to produce the royal marriages that took place in the year 1766 in Sweden, Denmark, and Holland. But that powerful influence, which the cabinet of London might reasonably have expected from the marriage of the king of Denmark with the princess Caroline Matilda, was lost through the frailty of that unfortunate and ill-advised queen. The evils resulting from the indiscretion of Matilda did not fall exclusively on her own head, nor on her partisans in Denmark, but extended itself to the political and commercial relations of her native land. It was more honorable to the gallantry

and generosity of the British public than to its justice or discernment, that the nation appeared readier to avenge the indignities suffered by Matilda, than to investigate the merits of her cause. The youth, beauty, and sufferings of this dethroned queen, excited the most powerful sympathy. Vengeance, sudden and terrible, was denounced against Juliana, and all those who had been concerned in Matilda's supposed unmerited disgrace. The king (her brother) who was the most competent judge, proved by the line of conduct he adopted on this delicate occasion, how he estimated that of his young and unfortunate sister. Far from availing himself of the popular fervor to seek vengeance for the gratification of wounded pride or unjust resentment, George the Third contented himself with stemming the torrent of persecution in Denmark, and rescuing Matilda from the hands of her enemies. Instead of endeavoring to bolster her reputation, by receiving her into the bosom of his family and court, he condemned the fair culprit to a penance sufficiently severe and humiliating, in fixing her future residence at Zell. He did not, however, from motives of state policy, abandon Matilda in the hour of deep and bitter affliction; nor would he suffer family pride to hurry him into measures by which the interests of his people might have been materially injured.

After the dethronement of Matilda, and the death of Struensee, it required all the talent of Juliana and her party to keep the wheels of go-

vernment in motion*. The finances were in the utmost disorder; trade at a stand; and Norway in such a state of popular ferment, on account of an obnoxious poll-tax, as threatened a general revolt. The moral state in which Matilda left her court is already shewn. Juliana banished those syrens whose licentious revels had rendered it unfit for the presence of a modest woman, and restored the antient formality and etiquette; by which means, all that it gained in character and stateliness was lost in attraction. The elegance, the graceful ease, the voluptuousness of Versailles, all suddenly disappeared; and German etiquette, stiff, formal and graceless, arose in its stead. If Juliana restored the demi-barbarity of ancient German grandeur, she occasioned a greatly beneficial reduction of expense in the royal establishment. On the morning of Matilda's arrest, Juliana caused a confidential note to be delivered to each of the foreign ambassadors, stating the grounds on which those who had done the deed, were prepared to justify their conduct. It was scarcely possible, even for the cold bosoms of calculating statesmen, to avoid a powerful sympathy excited for the fate of this illustrious woman: whose gross aberations had unfortunately tended to bias and silence her most natural advocates.

* It is mentioned in the Annual Register for 1772, that a Count Wolingsky *had his tongue cut out*, on account of words he had used, reflecting upon the conduct of Christian the Seventh and Juliana. No such event happened in Denmark.

When Struensee confessed a connexion it was as vain for him to deny, as to expect mercy from its avowal; and when the sentence of divorce, founded upon that confession, and other incontrovertible evidence, was completed; all the foreign ministers attended, dressed in deep state mourning, at Christianborg, to receive an official copy of the evidence, and also of the sentence pronounced against the queen. From that hour, the name of Matilda was erased from the church service of Denmark, and she ceased to be the wife of its wretched king. These humiliations it was not in the power of the king her brother, to avert: but his influence preserved her rank as a queen, stopt the promulgation of the sentence, and his ships of war conveyed Queen Matilda from her melancholy prison in Cronenborg Castle.

Whilst this awful process was carrying on, Juliana strengthened herself and adherents by conciliating the opinion, and securing the sanction of foreign courts, and particularly those of Petersburg, Berlin, and Versailles. The favorite minister of Frederic the Fifth, the great Count Bernstorff, who was banished the court at the instigation of Struensee, lived long enough to hear of the fall of the unfortunate minion, dying within a month after the receipt of that welcome intelligence. His nephew, Count Andreas Petrus Bernstorff, who has since immortalised his name in Denmark by executing several great and useful

projects, was selected by Juliana to fill the important office of minister for foreign affairs. A wiser choice it was not in her power to have made. He was known to possess in an eminent degree high mental endowments, and gentlemanly manners. Educated under the eye of his uncle, and amidst the splendor of a magnificent regal court, he could scarcely avoid being a finished courtier and profound politician. To introduce this celebrated statesman, we insert a brief memoir of him, taken from Mr. Wolffe's *Northern Tour*.* This appointment

* The liberality displayed by JENS WOLFFE, Esq. author of the *Northern Tour*, so frequently quoted, encourages the belief that he will not complain of the whole of his brief memoir of Count Bernstorff, appearing in these pages.

*Character and political career of Count Bernstorff, late prime minister of Denmark.*

"Nichts kann einem Sterblichen gluckseligeres begegnen, als wenn er in guten Tagen einer von den beglückten Menschen, und in bösen, einer von den grössten Männern ist."

No greater blessing can befal a human being, than in good times to be a fortunate man; in bad, a great man.

"Count Andreas Petrus Bernstorff was born at Hanover on the 28th of August, 1735. From his earliest youth his character was mild, benignant, kind, and endearing to all around him. His natural flow of spirits was misunderstood by his tutor Munther, under whose care his father had placed him, with the view of imbibing the first rudiments of education: he was checked and corrected by the severity of a man, whose scholastic ideas being chiefly confined to theoretical knowledge, knew but little of the

had the most beneficial influence both at home and abroad; conferring strength, respectability, and the promise of duration, on the new government. He rendered himself popular with the northern courts, by the care he took to preserve and increase the Danish royal navy; as well as to

human heart. Emancipated from the rod of this instructor, he appears in his fifteenth year to have been placed under the tuition of Leischnig, a man of considerable talent and experience. With him, he entered deeply into the study of history, theology, and the living and dead languages. In 1752, he went with his brother to Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the poet Gellert, whose friendship was a source of infinite use and gratification to him. Led on by an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a wish to become personally intimate with characters eminent for their abilities, or rank in life, he now prosecuted his travels into foreign countries. He made some considerable stay at Dresden and Gottingen. At Geneva he acquired a perfect knowledge of the French language, which was of infinite service to him in his diplomatic career. He then went to Italy, where he commenced an intimacy with M. de Chauvelin, and the Duc de Choiseuil, the French ministers at Turin and Rome, as likewise with the Abbé Barthelemy, the renowned writer of the travels of Anacharsis. With the latter, and a celebrated artist, he studied the antiquities, and the fine arts. During this journey, he fulfilled the earnest wishes of his uncle, (the great Bernstorff, who afterwards retired from the ministry during the reign of Struensee) and determined to enter into the Danish service. In 1756 he quitted Italy and returned through Trieste, Vienna, and Dresden, to Hanover. After staying a short time under the parental roof, and being

increase the commercial marine. The fall of Matilda, and the discussions to which that event gave rise, created a strong anti-Britannic spirit in Denmark. The exterior forms of amity, though faded and relaxed, still remained, but the spirit of harmonious peace had fled. The Danes whom

in vain solicited to fix his residence there, he went to Paris, where he remained six months: thence he crossed over to England, and was intimate with Admirals Hawke, Anson, and others; here he followed the pursuits of agriculture, a study for which at all times he had a strong propensity, remaining some time in Norfolk: after this he returned through Holland to Hanover.

Bernstorff's first *debut* in affairs of state, was an appointment in the German chancery, where his uncle presided, who seemed determined to encourage him in the attainment of some degree of eminence in the line of politics and diplomacy When the old Count Bernstorff was minister to Frederick the Fifth, he had an opportunity of furthering the object of his wishes; and during several successive years, his nephew's advancement was rapid and certain. In 1766 Frederick the Fifth died, and a cabal was formed for the purpose of ruining the credit of the minister in the eyes of his successor, Christian the Seventh, which however had the reverse effect: the count not only refuted the charges brought against him, but had the order of Dannebrog conferred on him, together with the gift of an estate near Copenhagen. At that time the farmers were in a state of bondage, and subject to the feudal laws, which rendered them totally indifferent to the cultivation of lands; the owner and peasant equally suffered under these unwise and barbarous regulations. Count Bernstorff was foremost to abolish this system of

pleasure or commerce led to visit England, were overwhelmed by popular execration. The English who visited Copenhagen, from the sailor to the gentleman, carried with them the most inveterate prejudices, not merely against the queen dowager and her son, but the nation itself. The British

slavery. As a philanthropist he could not behold with indifference the wretchedness of these poor people, in a country which nature seemed to have formed for the comfort and opulence of its inhabitants. He wished to be considered the benefactor of a free and wealthy race, rather than the lord of slaves. Believing their misery to arise from having been oppressed by hard labour, he resolved to abolish their system of partnership in inclosures, and to place them in such a situation that they might expect to reap the fruits of their individual industry. To effect this, he parcelled out the lands in suitable lots, and prevailed on his tenantry to throw dice for the choice, encouraging them by presents, to move their residence to the ground which fell to their share.

Count Bernstorff expended, from his private purse, in settling and giving permanency to this arrangement, seven thousand dollars; but the sum was well applied, and he found himself amply repaid by the hilarity which soon accompanied the labors of these poor families, whose welfare he had taken so much pains to ensure.

The grateful peasants, some years afterwards, erected a plain marble monument, by the side of the high road, in honor of the count.

In 1770, the old Count Bernstorff, who was then minister of state, received his dismission, in consequence of the increasing influence of Struensee, who could not brook a rival in power, and had persuaded Matilda to apply for

periodical press, lent its powerful influence. An elegant writer, though a most illiberal and prejudiced tourist* contributed on his return, by the publication of his tour, to feed and perpetuate an injurious enmity, that a wise and liberal writer would have strained every nerve to extinguish.

it. The king, indifferent to every thing but his pleasures, easily yielded, and both the Bernstorffs quitted Denmark, to the great regret of all good and wise men.

On the 18th of February, 1772, the old count died at Altona; and when his nephew, Count Andreas, (after the ruin of Struensee and his party), visited Copenhagen in the following summer, he was earnestly solicited to accept a situation in the government, and was shortly afterwards appointed to the post of minister for the foreign depart-

"The prince (Frederick) has received no other mark of bounty from nature or fortune than royal birth. He is *very much deformed*, and this personal imperfection has gained him the appellation of *Richard the Third* among those who do not love the court, though it undoubtedly originated *among the English*."

"*As to Prince* FREDERICK, *nature, it is said, has very completely* DISQUALIFIED *him for affairs of gallantry*." A more judicious, instructive, and entertaining traveller; namely, the Rev. William Coxe, visited Denmark in 1779, and was presented to this prince, and Sophia Frederica, *his* WIFE! It shewed no small degree of magnanimity in the royal pair to admit an *English* tourist to a *private* audience. What reparation could Mr. Wraxall make for the propagation of a scandal that went to throw on his consort the suspicion of being an adultress, and to assert the illegitimacy of her children? It was a cruel and a cowardly attack, disgraceful to the author, and injurious to the character of his country. Vide a Tour, &c. by Mr. Nat. Wraxall, p. 52 and 54, 3d Edition, 1776.

The coolness and reserve with which the English were received at court, and the mistrust with which their steps were watched, were indignantly felt and complained of; but those persons forgot they had expressed nothing but hatred and contempt, and almost openly strove to excite discontent and

ment, which his uncle had filled with so much credit to himself, and benefit to the nation.

He was chiefly instrumental in effecting the exchange of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst for part of the duchy of Holstein, which had long been a bone of contention between Russia and Denmark. A treaty to this effect was concluded, on the 21st of May, 1773; and this matter, which was of great importance to Denmark, was thus set at rest.

On the breaking out of the American war, Bernstorff adopted and brought to perfection a wise system of neutrality, which was of essential consequence to a nation, not able to contend with the great maritime powers.

On the 28th of February, 1780, during hostilities between England, and France and her allies; Denmark, Russia, and Sweden, formed a coalition in defence of their neutrality, which was respected at that period, and enabled the three powers to carry on their usual trade without much interruption. This northern coalition was however neither forgotten nor forgiven by Great Britain, and was one of the primary causes of her subsequent hostilities with Denmark.

To particularise the benefits that ensued to Denmark during the ministry of Count Bernstorff, would be endless: esteemed and honored both abroad and at home, his situation was most enviable; it was such as could not fail to attract the attention of aspiring courtiers, whose merits

revolt. There can be no doubt that English hauteur, and English prejudice, had a powerful tendency to mature that antipathy which paved the way for the accession of Denmark, in 1780, to the armed neutrality of the northern powers. At the present hour this mischievous spirit is at work. The

were completely thrown in the shade, by a comparison with his personal good qualities and public virtues. A party was secretly formed, with the view of displacing him from the pre-eminent situation he held. To create disgust, and induce him to resign, every practicable obstacle was thrown in his way, and opposition raised, to thwart his plans for the public benefit. As long, however, as he could be of service to the country, he continued in office, and disregarded the shafts of envy that were levelled at him by his opponents. At length, perceiving that he could not stem the current of opposition, he resigned his situation as minister, on the 30th of November, 1780; and like Cincinnatus, retired to the plough, and his estate, without a murmur, but with the most fervent wishes for the future prosperity of the country. To his friend Munther he said, eight years afterwards, "if they dismiss me ten times, and recall me as often, I will return, if the country can be benefited by my abilities."

Rare words! the test of the intrinsic worth of a minister, of which there are few instances.

When the Prince Royal assumed the reins of government in 1784, Count Bernstorff was reinstated in his high office, to the great joy of the nation. In 1786 a general emancipation of the peasantry took place in Denmark, of which he had set the example on his own estate. During the following year a variety of internal regulations and improvements occurred in the financial system. In 1789,

same blind, indiscriminate furor seems to animate the great majority of our political writers; and the clouds that are concentrating round our national character in every country of the old and new continent, forebode a storm that at no great distance of time may, by undermining the foundation

when war was declared between Sweden and Russia; and Denmark was called upon to fulfil the article of a treaty which stipulated, that in case Russia was attacked Denmark should send an auxiliary force to her assistance; Count Bernstorff attended the prince, who made an irruption with 12,000 men from Norway into the Swedish territories; and Gottenburg would inevitably have fallen, had not the English and Prussian ministers interposed, and obtained a cessation of hostilities, which eventually ended in a treaty of peace.

At the commencement, and during the early part of the French revolution, when England declared war against France, the situation of Denmark was truly critical. Here again the genius of this truly great man prevented the country from being crushed between the mighty powers; and although a new code of maritime laws established in the English admiralty court, and the laws of nations were disregarded by the contending powers, yet the system of neutrality, so beneficial to the Danish nation, was not departed from, in its consequences was productive of great mercantile advantage to the country. As a token of the general satisfaction, a gold medal was presented to Count Bernstorff, on the prince royal's birth-day, the 28th of January, 1795.

The following letter, describing the circumstance, was wrote by a gentleman of Copenhagen, at that period:

"The interest you take in the political affairs of the

of our foreign commerce, wrest the trident of the seas from the grasp of our country.

The antipathies created by the dethronement and exile of queen Caroline Matilda, had scarcely ceased to operate, when an unconstitutional desire to tax our colonists in North America,

north of Europe, induces me to inform you of what has transpired here respecting our very deserving minister of state, Count Bernstorff, whose private character, moral principles, and benignity of manners, are as well known as the prudence, steadiness, and honor of his conduct in public life.

" It is to him we are indebted for our present tranquillity. He was the principal cause of Denmark not joining in the present detrimental and destructive war, the fatal consequences of which make humanity bleed and blush throughout Europe.

" Though partly deprived of the benefits due to an independent nation in her lawful trade, we yet enjoy the comforts of peace, in hopes of ultimately obtaining entire satisfaction for the injuries that trade has received from the belligerent powers.

" Acknowledging most devoutly the blessings of heaven, we at the same time acknowledge how much we are indebted to the *man*, whose arduous task it became to unmask perfidious insinuations, and to reject haughty proposals of ruinous participation. No species of war is just but that in defence of our lives, rights, and liberty—ruin and shame inevitably attend the offender. Such ought to be the maxims of every moral statesman; and a minister destitute of morality is a curse upon the people.

" Count Bernstorff is a blessing to us. Convinced of this, numbers of citizens have joined in proving their

without admitting them to actual representation in the distant legislature by which such burthens were to be imposed, gave rise to that unnatural and disastrous war, the sad effects of which, though painfully humiliating to our pride and formidable to our power, have as yet been slightly felt in

satisfaction and gratitude by sending him a gold medal, representing a striking likeness of himself, with this inscription;

"*Bernstorff, Minister of State in Denmark.*"

"On the reverse side is a compass, inscribed,

"*Without Alteration.*"

"I need not explain the sense of this bold idea; it is as explicit and true as the frailties of mortals allow.

"The medal, with the following letter, was delivered by an unknown person.

"'To the man of his king and country, the most noble Bernstorff, who proved to Europe that true state wisdom consists in justice and peace, and, supported by strenuous perseverance, is the greatest honor in all governments.—To him, discerning fellow-citizens hereby convey the inclosed proof of their gratitude.

"'The faithful subjects of these realms, in presenting the most worthy citizen with their thanks, which he deserves, preferred this memorable day, because it reminds every friend of their country of that benefit which has been effected in these latter years, for the prosperity of the state, and the cause of humanity.

"From DANES and NORWEGIANS devoted to their King and Country.

The 28th January, 1795.'

"The subscribers, preferring a noble deed to the emptiness of public shew, remain as yet unknown.

comparison to what may too probably be apprehended as the result of future wars more bloody and more fierce!—

As soon as the leaders of the American patriots resolved to risk a war, rather than admit a principle, to the baleful effects of which no

"You must observe, that the 28th of January is our worthy prince royal's birth-day, whose application to his extensive and important duties is perhaps unparalleled, and whose firmness and constant attachment to justice and honour entitle him to every distinction and encouragement. His royal highness, in supporting so able a minister in whatever is just, and he on the other side being a faithful friend to the prince, the choice of the day was noble and applicable."

This testimony of the public regard was highly grateful to him. The following year another medal was struck on his own birth-day, and presented to him: this was the last year of his eventful life. In May 1797, his mental and corporeal powers were exhausted; and after a short illness, during which he was attended by Callisen and Hensler, his personal friends, and the most eminent of the faculty, and daily visited by the prince royal, he expired, to the great regret and sorrow of the whole nation. His funeral was honored by the attendance of the prince and royal family, and followed by persons of the first consequence in Copenhagen. The last words of Bishop Balle, in his funeral oration were, "Happy Bernstorff! Peace to thy ashes!—a blessing to thy family; revered be thy memory!" How glorious is the death of such a man! what an example to posterity! how much more gratifying to the feelings of his surviving children is the daily sight of the simple pedestal erected by his grateful tenants,

probable limits could be assigned, they adopted measures to bring into their ports those naval and warlike stores which the awful contest in which they were about to engage, rendered essential to their safety and their success. The anti-stadtholdian party in Holland, delighted at the prospect of a war between Great Britain and her colonies, were not slow in assuring the American republicans of every kind of support in their power to afford: nor were these idle promises. They harassed and perplexed the stadtholder by calling for the increase of the Dutch navy, and the enforcement of the doctrine, "*free ship, free goods.*" The Dutch press teemed with publications intended to hurt the character of the British, and animate the courage of the American colonists. The most wealthy merchants in Holland exported for the use of the insurgents all sorts of contraband of war. Those supplies were usually sent to St. Eu-

during his life-time, in commemoration of a single act of beneficence, which alone immortalised the name of Bernstorff, than the superb mausoleum that decorates the ashes of Juliana Maria at Roskild, a gloomy depository of unrelenting jealousy and ambition, and which the beholder regards with apathy and indifference.

"A cordial *his* sustains, that cannot fail:
By pleasure unsubdued, unbroke by pain,
He shares in that omnipotence he trusts:
All-bearing, all-attempting, till he falls,
And, when he falls, writes VICI on his shield:
From magnanimity, all fear above:
From nobler recompence, above applause."

statius and Curacoa, and thence transported to their ulterior destination. Many of those ships and cargoes were captured by British cruizers, and condemned. Regardless of their own violation of neutral rights, in plunging into a trade so likely to involve the republic in war, they besieged the stadtholder (William the Fifth) with complaints and remonstrances, terming those captures that, on the broadest principle of the law of nations, were legally made and condemned, the "*piratical depredations of Great Britain on their defenceless ships.*" They called aloud for war to avenge those imaginary wrongs, and accused William the Fifth of having been bribed by the court of St. James's to permit the ruin of the navy and the commerce of Holland!

Whilst the merchants of Holland were striving, by every means in their power, to create a war between Great Britain and the states of Holland; conscious of the overwhelming power of the foe whose vengeance they feared even whilst they provoked it,—they looked about them for the securest means of protecting their ships and commerce from its power. A year prior to the commencement of actual war, they resolved to carry on their contraband commerce under the mask of neutral flags: and the better to screen their speculations from the observation of their government, they exported large supplies of naval stores, arms, and ammunition, under the protection of neutral flags, and as neutral property. About

the year 1778, a meeting of the principal Baltic merchants was held at Amsterdam. That commercial leviathan, Mr. Claas Taan, sen. of Zaandam,* acted as president. The object of the meeting was to devise means of securely carrying on their commerce under a neutral flag. On account of its local situation, the city of Embden was fixed on as the chief emporium of this vile traffic, which was founded on fraud, and could only be supported by a deliberate and organised system of forgery and false swearing. A nominal firm was, for this purpose, then established, under

* The floating property of Mr. Taan was, at this period, on an average, equal to one million sterling. He was sole proprietor of *forty* Greenland ships, besides other vessels: he possessed no fewer than thirty mills at Zaandam, the rich village on the river Y, so celebrated for its legions of windmills. It was here that Peter the First worked as a ship-wright. The inhabitants were formerly proverbial for the insolence of wealth; affecting at the same time the dress and manners of *Boors*, (*i. e.* clowns or countrymen). Mr. Hope, the banker, had about this period a foreign bill due for a very large amount, accepted by one of those village merchants. He took with him an English gentleman who was desirous of seeing the interior of their houses. They found the man of wealth, clad in a coarse brown jacket, with large silver buttons, huge breeches, a vast flapt hat, and klompers, (*i. e.* wooden shoes). He was employed with a shovel, cleaning out a ditch. The proud Zaandammer, when he learnt the errand of Mr. Hope, took him leisurely into his house, and in a careless way asked him to *name the coin* in which he wished to receive his bill. Between gold ducats, the highest, and sesthalves, the lowest, current specie, there were many kinds; and by this challenge it was clear he was prepared with a sufficient sum of each sort to pay a bill, the amount of which appeared particularly large, even to Mr. Hope.

the patronage of Mr. Claas Taan, namely Messrs. Gerrit and Barend Van Olst, Brouwer and Co. of Embden.

But as Denmark was a maritime state, possessing at that period thirty ships of the line, nine fifties, and twenty frigates; and finding its carrying trade prodigiously increased, the Danish court seemed well disposed to protect its flag without inquiring too minutely as to the neutrality of its employment: it was therefore determined, as well as the Prussian, to use the Danish flag. Nominal firms were immediately established in Copenhagen and at Altena. In the former city, the celebrated De C——k, the rich possessor of *Drottningaard*,* was the principal Dutch agent. That man was employed in very large masked concerns, principally for the Dutch East India

* This man having acquired his wealth at the risk of eternal perdition to his soul, set up at last for a man of *taste*. The fame of his plenteous table and delicious wines soon spread abroad, and *tasteful* travellers of all nations, crowded to his magnificent villa to *taste* of the delicacies that abounded. The infamy of the man was forgotten in the luxuries that he dispensed. Mr. Jens Woolfe, who, as Danish consul-general, must have had no small experience in such matters, though free from the taint of *committing* those crimes, has made tolerably free with this *amateur* in the arts of perjury and forgery. He has given an emblematical vignette representing De Coninck *taking his wine* in an extensive and magnificent library, *his back turned on the books*, whilst a servant appears bringing in a *dish* of some sort in his hand. A couple of enormously *fat swine* are amusing themselves in the same room, routing in the litter that seems spread on the floor! Vide *Northern Tour*, p.

company, and the government of Holland. His enormous fortune was acquired by the systematical commission of those crimes, for which less wealthy criminals were continually being condemned to the gallows in England; and in Denmark and Holland to the severest punishment short of death, and perpetual imprisonment in irons!

Exclusive of the De C——ks, there were several other firms of the same vile nature established in the ports of Denmark. At Altena, the violation of maritime neutrality was carried on to an incredible extent. The *first* person who set up as a dealer in false papers and false oaths, was a *Dutch schoolmaster, named Hendrick Van Der Berg,* who was employed by the brothers, Messrs. Pieter and Cornelius Corver, of Zaandam. Immense commercial speculations were conducted by Mr. Pieter Corver, under the Danish flag, on Dutch account, in the name of Hendrick Van Der Berg. Many of those eormous Dutch mast-carrying vessels, almost as large as line of battle ships, were freighted with all sorts of naval stores, consigned, *nominally* on Danish account and risk, to the ports of Holland and France, and the new trans-atlantic republic. In this manner was a seductive, lucrative, but infamous traffic, first introduced into Denmark; by which the legal and creditable paths of legitimate commerce were too generally abandoned; the name and calling of a merchant degraded; the neutrality of Denmark radically violated; and the

foundation laid for those terrible scourges with which that kingdom has since been visited. At this period the increase of commerce in the Danish ports at home and abroad, was prodigiously great. The tonnage of her commercial marine apparently experienced an immense increase. Her master-mariners and mates, found plenty of employ; but it was of a nature that uprooted every principle of moral virtue. They were hired by such men as the De C——ks to navigate vessels that belonged to subjects of belligerent powers, particularly Holland. They earned their daily bread by daily perjuries. They were taught to laugh at the sanctity of oaths. The example spread from the cabin to the forecastle. Mates, cooks, and the men before the mast, in case of capture by a belligerent power, were expected to swear in corroboration of the simulated papers. From this polluted source, a stream of contaminated riches flowed into Denmark, derived from the mercenary protection extended to the ships and commerce of the enemies of Great Britain. Our native merchants were however, at *this* period untainted with the infamy of following those bad examples.

Count Bernstorff found the finances of Denmark in utter disorder. The expense of the royal court, of numerous and heavy pensions, and the interest of the national debt, made heavy drains on private property. After many great retrenchments, it was scarcely practicable to find resources to meet the current expenses. Such

was the state of affairs when the first American war broke out. Count Bernstorff was well informed as to the illegal commercial enterprises of Danish merchants. He knew of, and *tolerated* the masked establishments set up at Copenhagen and Altena for the neutralization of belligerent commerce. Instead of tearing up by the roots those demoralising institutions, he connived at their existence, and framed the municipal laws of Denmark to favor their operation. In doing this, the count shewed a deficiency of true political science. The ships thus covered belonged principally to Dutch merchants. It was Dutch capital that was employed. All the principal repairs were done in Dutch ports. The perjured neutralisers gained about two per cent. on the nominal transfer of the ships. An annual tribute was paid by the owner, called "*protection money*," equal to about four shillings per ton measurement, or two per cent. on the gross amount of all freights. For the neutralization of cargoes, one per cent. on the amount, exclusive of a fee for each certificate. The most solemn public averments were sold *in blank*, with the seals of offices, and the formal oath regularly attested and witnessed! Such were the leading features of that polluted traffic that was sanctioned by Count Bernstorff. That statesman was wrong, as it either respected morality or profit. If he had maintained the integrity of the Danish flag, the capital and industry of his countrymen would have soon created a trade really neutral, that

would have been far more lucrative, permanent, and untainted by crime. The count, by winking at the criminal avarice of unprincipled merchants, became their idol. It was this secret bias that led him so strongly to advocate the rights of neutral flags, as laid down in the treaty of Utrecht, and admitted by the treaty of 1756, between England and France. He wished to see Denmark enriched at the expense of Great Britain, but not to wrest from the latter the sovereignty of the seas. As the flames of war extended from America to Europe, the greater was the mass of Dutch, French, and Spanish commerce thrown into the hands of pseudo neutrals. Neutral papers, neutral flags, were publicly advertised for sale in the ports of Holland, France, and Spain. Innumerable captures and detentions was the result. The law of nations was annihilated. The maritime rights of Great Britain, founded on public law, and essential to her safety, were trampled on and set at nought. The Danes became exasperated against England for interrupting a trade that was alike lucrative, illegal, and immoral. In all the ports of Europe, gigantic preparations were seen for preparing the vaunted armament that was to execute the vengeance of Europe, destroy the navy of Great Britain, and restore the liberty of the seas!

By an extraordinary combination of circumstances the most despotic courts of Europe united against Great Britain, to give liberty to the armed

and revolted colonists! The Danes and the Swedes seemed to have laid aside mutual animosities: they joined in alliance with Russia. Pressed as England was at all points, even in the British Channel, by the fleets of her enemies, her naval greatness might then have received its death wound, if the coalesced powers had been sincere, and true to each other. Happily for Great Britain, there existed an inveterate jealousy between Sweden and Denmark: the latter court had the worse possible opinion of Gustavus the Third. Count Bernstorff foresaw that if a great naval battle took place, Catherine would so manage, that her fleets, if fortune were adverse, should suffer the least; and run away with the fame and *profit* too, if victorious. He foresaw the probability of the naval power of Denmark being crushed in the contest if she once committed herself fully; thence he determined to avoid extremities. The imperious Catherine saw his drift; which was manifest by his inserting an article in the treaty with Russia, stipulating that Denmark should be allowed to maintain "*its former alliances.*" The insertion of this article neutralised Denmark, alarmed Gustavus, and filled Catherine with rage; offended Juliana Maria, and caused equal disappointment, anger, and regret in the courts of Berlin, Versailles and Madrid.

Attempts were made to conciliate Count Bernstorff, and induce him to withdraw the *neutralsiing* clause. The king of Prussia sent Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick to remonstrate on the subject

The Prince assured the count of the permanence of his high office, if he yielded, and menaced him with instant dismission if he persisted. The queen dowager, Juliana Maria, supported the arguments of Prince Ferdinand. She was anxious to see the splendor and power of the house of Hanover humbled and greatly reduced. Count Bernstorff was, however, inflexible. He retired from Denmark; accompanied by the mortifying consideration that he had offended all the great powers. Great Britain by having favored the enormous breaches of commercial neutrality, which had so materially contributed to give rise to this northern confederacy. And all the northern courts were displeased by his inserting an article that *neutralised* the naval power which Denmark was bound to supply.

The dismissal of Count Bernstorff, caused a vast accession of influence to the queen dowager. Guldberg, the preceptor to Prince Frederick, and favorite of his mother, who was called *Private Secretary* to the king, was, at this period, the efficient minister for foreign affairs. The influence of Count Bernstorff, and the British cabinet, being still thought too great in the council of state, an alteration was deemed expedient, by which the deliberative power of the boards of commerce, finance, and the marine, was completely superseded. After the fall of Struensee the old mode of government was re-established. The president of the council of state recom-

mended all public measures to the king,—who signed the mandates, which were transmitted to those boards for execution.

After the dismissal of Count Bernstorff, an *interior cabinet*, very similar to that of Matilda and Struensee, was established. The council of state was passed over; and the boards were directed to execute the orders *of the King*—who continued in a most deplorable state of mental imbecility! The queen dowager had possession of his person; and as she could obtain his signature to every document laid before him, nearly the same kind of *interior* government was erected as that for the establishment of which Struensee was condemned to die. By this step Juliana obtained the most despotic power. A power that she retained till the son of the unfortunate Matilda, aided by the secret council of Count Bernstorff, wrested the reins of government from her hands, and drove her into a retirement whence she emerged no more.

Although deprived of office by foreign influence, Count Bernstorff never despaired of being restored. He kept up an occasional correspondence with Great Britain; and was well served by his agents at his own court, who informed him of all that passed; and whenever opportunity served, strove to impress the crown prince with the most favorable sentiments towards that statesman.

Even at this period, it is probable Juliana had

not abandoned all hope of excluding the heir apparent from the throne. He was kept as much as possible in the back ground. Her emissaries filled the residence with reports much to his disadvantage; representing him as stupid and intractable, and insinuating that he was affected with the same mental imbecility that had, so many years, incapacitated his father from governing. Christian the Seventh was confirmed before he was fourteen, and immediately took his place in the council of state. The sovereignty was now vested in Juliana. The crown prince attained his fourteenth year; yet not a symptom was shewn that indicated an intention on the part of Juliana to permit that solemn ceremony. The cause of this repugnance was evident. As soon as the Prince was confirmed, she could not exclude him, except by violence, from taking his seat in the council. She feared the influence of his presence there; well knowing that he was not the weak and talentless boy that he had been represented. It was believed that the advice of M. Guldberg prevented Juliana Maria from attempting to set the succession of the crown prince aside. As the period approached when his public examination must, of necessity, take place, and also his admission into the council of state, a new mode of treatment was adopted. General Eichstedt, who was nominated *governor* of the crown prince, on the arrest of his unhappy mother, was removed. His preceptor, Mr. Sporor,

who was erroneously thought to be a favorite with the crown prince, was appointed *Secretary* of the council; that was filled with persons in whom Juliana had the most confidence, and wherein M. Guldberg held almost unlimited sway.

In January, 1784, the crown prince completed his sixteenth year. In stature he was much like the king,. His complexion very fair; his eye-brows very bushy for a youth of his age: his hair almost white. Though a plain likeness, he bore a strong resemblance of his unfortunate mother.

On the 28th of January, the birth-day of the prince, the queen dowager augmented the pensions of several courtiers, and created eight new knights of the order of the Holy Ghost. Amongst them was M. Molckte, steward of the household. One of those sudden turns in politics that sometimes reconcile the most jarring interests, led to the restoration of peace between the Counts Bernstorff and Schak Ratlau. The latter nobleman had, like Count Rantzau, lent himself, 1780, to the queen dowager, and aided her in driving Count Bernstorff into retirement. Feeling himself of less consequence than he expected, or seeing a chance of bettering his fortune, he made private offers to the crown prince, by whom they were accepted, who displayed in his secret correspondence with Count Bernstorff a firm and sensible mind. Such was his discretion, he did not acquaint Count Ratlau of his intercourse

with Bernstorff, whilst to the latter he communicated every thing proposed by the former. As the eventful day approached, the crown prince assumed a more free and friendly demeanor towards his step-mother and her son. Without descending to any gross or culpable duplicity, he completely deceived M. Guldberg, and even his preceptor, M. Sporon. Not so with the lynx-eyed Juliana. She found means to ascertain the existence of a secret correspondence. This fact she communicated to M. Guldberg, who admonished her with much earnestness, not to risk the fatal consequences that he foresaw would result from her pushing matters to extremities.—He told her that he believed a crisis was at hand that would be fatal to her power; and if she acted rashly, probably to her own life and that of her son. She had wisdom enough to take in good part the counsel of a man, who had shewn himself in every thing her firm unshaken friend. She promised to abstain from acts of violence; and he was not so tired of being efficiently the first minister of the crown, as to recommend a voluntary surrender of the reins of government.

Ambition being Juliana's leading passion, she could have met death with less horror than a blow that must annihilate her political power, and force her into retirement. Contrary to the advice of M. Guldberg, she went to the apartment of the crown prince, and accusing him of holding a secret correspondence, would have proceeded to

interrogation. He listened to her with the most profound attention; and when she had finished speaking, with a careless air, he said—"As you are *certain*, madam, it is so, have the kindness to inform me from whom have you derived the information? I shall then know what answer to give."—She perceived there was nothing to be obtained by interrogatories, and withdrew.

Count Bernstorff was pretty well assured that M. Guldberg would not risk his life and fortune by encouraging the queen dowager to defend by force her illegal power. The count remained at his estate, but every thing was guided by his wisdom. He had secured the support of some officers of high rank. The commandant of the citadel engaged, if the attempt failed, to give that fortress up to the crown prince, as a place of safe retreat for himself and adherents.

On the 28th March, 1784, he being then sixteen years and two months old, the crown prince was confirmed in the royal chapel of Christianborg, in the presence of the whole court, the foreign ministers, the great officers of state; and other persons of distinction, who had been invited. Mr. Basholm, first chaplain to the king, interrogated him as to his religious creed. The examination continued a long time: and the crown prince made his responses in a firm, manly, deliberate, and very audible tone of voice. His demeanor was mild, dignified, and collected; giving the most complete refutation to the calumnies that

had been so industriously spread. Juliana was astonished and dismayed. The impression he made on the audience was such that many actually were affected even to the shedding of tears. When Count Bernstorff was assured of the firmness and capacity which the crown prince, displayed on this trying test, he anticipated complete success, when the great attempt should be made.

At length the hour arrived that was destined finally to destroy the power of Juliana and her party, and effect a change almost as great in the Danish government as that which followed the arrest of Matilda. Having received the sacrament, the crown prince was admitted as a member of the privy council, and succeeded his uncle, (Prince Frederick,) as president. On the morning of the 14th of April, he took the oath prescribed. At the moment of relieving guard, when a double proportion of the garrison was under arms, he gave personal orders that no one should quit his post without permission from himself. The council were assembled in the king's apartment: his uncle was present. The crown prince addressed himself to the king his father, stating that the law now called on him to govern; to do which efficiently, he required a council in whom both himself and the nation had confidence. He then produced a memoir that he had composed, and which, having read in a firm, deliberate tone of voice, he laid before the king, and requested his signature.—The poor imbecile monarch, who had

during so many years been kept in strict subjection, appeared to hesitate. One of the members (Rosenscrone) arose, and said, "Your royal highness is sensible the king cannot sign such a paper without due consideration."—He had the boldness even to attempt to snatch the paper from the prince's hand.—Turning round to the count, with an air full of dignity and courage, the crown prince said, "It is not, sir, for you to advise the king on such an occasion; but I that am heir-apparent to the throne, and responsible to the nation." Count Schak Ratlau was in the confidence of the prince; and he remained silent. Guldberg was also silent, appearing thereby to acquiesce. Prince Frederick looked astonished and dismayed. The crown prince then laid the papers before his father, by whom they were immediately signed. The papers were immediately carried by a confidential agent to the royal chancery, and entered in the records of the crown. Being thus authorised to act, the crown prince addressed himself to the council in a mild, yet decisive tone, and announced their dismissal.* He informed them that he had nominated a new council, and appointed Count Bernstorff first minister of the crown. He assured the discarded members of his great regard, and qualified their grief and mortification by promising them indemnification in pensions, or some other equivalent.

* Rosencrone, Stehman, Molckte, Eichstedt, and Guldberg.

To his uncle he behaved with the utmost respect and deference, entreating him to honor the new council with his presence, and assist him with his advice.

From the council-room, the crown prince went to the castle-guard, and addressed the officers of the regiments of horse and foot then on duty, whom he found assembled agreeably to his orders. They immediately bound themselves by an oath to obey him. He then passed on to the queen's magnificent apartment, to whom he communicated the important change that *had* taken place! Notwithstanding the blow was expected, it seemed almost to annihilate that haughty woman. The prince looked at her with pity, and spoke to her in the mildest terms. He told her she was at liberty if she pleased to retain the same apartments and household attendants. He gave her a choice of any of the royal castles for her country residence; but, he also gave her to understand that she must no more interfere in affairs of state!

He left Juliana scarcely able to reply, and met the assembled new council, (Bernstorff excepted), the governor of Copenhagen, the commandant of the citadel, the commanding officers of the battalions in garrison, the colonel of the Copenhagen armed burgers, and the chief officers of police; telling them it was his orders only to which they were in future to pay obedience!

Expresses were sent every hour to Count

Bernstorff to inform him how matters were going on. When the revolution was completed, the crown prince sent him an appointment to his former office, as minister for foreign affairs, which was vacant by the dismission of Count Rosencrone, and held, *ad interim*, by Count Schak Ratlau.

These important changes were soon known in the city, and the heroic conduct of the young crown prince loudly applauded. The affection that the inhabitants felt towards him was soon manifested by the impatience with which they clamoured for the young regent to appear, in whom they hoped to see revived the fine qualities of his grandfather, Frederick the Fifth. An immense multitude soon assembled near the great palace. Their shouts and huzzas penetrated every recess of that vast edifice, and smote the aching heart of Juliana, who trembled with apprehensions even for her personal safety! Dressed in a general's uniform, the modest young prince shewed himself to his people, and was hailed by plaudits that shook the whole city. Fearless and alone, attended only by a single domestic, he walked through the midst of the multitude, and the principal streets of Copenhagen. He thus perambulated the town, without the interference of the military; the crowd keeping at a respectful distance. The windows and balconies were crowded with handsome and well-dressed females, who waved their hands and handkerchiefs, bowing

as he passed. These courtesies he returned, and thus escorted by a people in whose affections he already reigned, the crown prince re-entered the portals of Christianborg. This was the most brilliant day of his life. This prince has lived to experience deep and heavy misfortunes. He may have adopted injurious measures, but the purity of his intentions, the integrity of his heart, were never questioned; nor, when his metropolis was wrapt in flames, and his dominions partitioned, did he ever lose the respect and confidence of his people. There is no test equal to that of adversity. When a nation preserves its attachment to a prince overwhelmed by misfortunes, it may safely be concluded he merited by his virtues, the regard that is bestowed.

To return from this digression: the high steward of the palace, and M. Jacobi, reader to the king, were dismissed. Four chamberlains were appointed, to whom was entrusted the care of the king's person, and to provide him amusements. M. Schack was appointed grand master of the ceremonies, an office not including the right of access to the king. Upon his retirement from that office, it was bestowed on M. de Numsen, director of the customs at Elsineur, son to the lady who had the care of the crown prince in his infancy. This gentleman was highly esteemed for his talents and acquirements. He had travelled much, and resided in several courts; was possessed of a fine taste, great politeness, and a

thorough knowledge of the world. He was besides, a munificent patron of learning, and the fine arts. Mr. Sporon, the prince's preceptor, was dismissed; being too much devoted to Juliana, to expect any gratitude from the crown prince. His dismissal followed so soon at the heels of his appointment, that he had scarcely received the congratulations of his friends on account of the acquisition, before he stood in need of their condolence on its loss!

Within a few days after these great events, Count Rosencrone retired to his estates in Jutland. He was indemnified by a pension equal to about six hundred pounds sterling per annum. He carried with him into retirement, the reputation of an honest well-meaning man. The mildness of his deportment caused his dismissal to be regretted, not only by those who had the honor of his acquaintance, but by all who had occasion to transact business with him as minister for foreign affairs. His family were then recently ennobled; and he was first employed by the court in the diplomatic line.

M. Stehman was appointed to a valuable post at Hardersleben. This gentleman owed his fortune principally to his zeal and industry. He was a laborious calculator, rather than a splendid orator. Count Schimmelman, son to the minister of that name, so celebrated on the annals of Denmark, succeeded Mr. Stehman as minister of finance.

Instead of oppressing M. Guldberg, who had so principal a hand in the misfortunes of his unhappy mother, the crown prince allowed him to remain high steward to the household of Prince Frederick, with pensions to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling per annum. This gentleman possessed talent more than equal to Struensee's, with a judgment incomparably superior. He was temperate, inquisitive, and industrious. He had but little taste for light amusements; and was seldom seen at balls or galas. He was devoted to domestic duties: a strong indication of a virtuous mind. He was twice married; his wives were own sisters; daughters of a miller residing near Fredensborg. These pages shew the favor he enjoyed from Juliana and her son, Prince Frederick. That he lent himself too implicitly to the views of his royal patron may be admitted. It was, perhaps, his only road to power. He had at least the merit of enjoying his good fortune with exemplary moderation; and exhibiting a fidelity to those by whom he was advanced, that is highly honorable to his character.

General Eichstedt, after his dismissal from court, and from his colonelship of horse-guards, retired to his estates; honored with the high post of lord chamberlain of Denmark.

Infinitely to the honor of the crown prince, he set an example to all the ministers and servants of the crown in the respectful delicacy with which he treated his dejected, disconsolate step-mother,

and his uncle. He strove by the kindest deportment to soften the stroke that wrested a sceptre from her hands. His mildness and humility affected her proud spirit more than any other mode of conduct could have done. She saw he pitied and forgave her; and it almost broke her heart. She soon withdrew from the metropolis, fixing her residence at Fredensborg. No hope remained of ever regaining the power she had lost. Sullenly resigned, she strove to appear not to value what had passed away, equal to the tranquillity and retirement it procured her. She resolved to devote her time to prepare for another and a better world; and her wealth to charitable purposes. It must in candour be admitted, if the motives that animated her conduct in affecting the fall of Matilda were base, the use that she made of the power thus obtained offered no small atonement.

Above all, the mildness and fortitude that distinguished the crown prince on this trying occasion, entitled him to admiration and esteem. There was a pensiveness imprinted on his features that showed he had not been nursed in the lap of fortune. He sought to obtain his legal inheritance; but he avoided every thing that looked like exultation or triumph. Firm and temperate at the moment of peril, his demeanor was marked by modesty and discretion. When his enemies were overthrown, humanity prevented him from exposing to loss and degradation, those whom he

dismissed from their offices. The ministers whom he had removed, were generally respected as men of probity and talent. In the day of prosperity they had conducted themselves with moderation. The fine arts, sciences, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture were encouraged. Their greatest fault lay in the part which some of them had acted in the sad and terrible events of 1772. This was the real cause why the crown prince dismissed them. There was scarcely an individual amongst them whom he did not in some way or other indemnify: displaying at this early age, a degree of wisdom and clemency that gave the fairest promise of his becoming a just and magnanimous sovereign.

The new ministers appointed by the crown prince, at the revolution of 1784, were, Count Bernstorff, minister of foreign affairs, and president of the German chancellory; the Baron Rosencrantz, president of the college of admiralty; the Baron Schak Ratlau, chancellor of the university of Copenhagen; General Von Huth, commander-in-chief of the artillery, and president of the college of war; and, M. De Stamp, president of the Danish chancellory.

A biographical sketch of the life of Count Bernstorff is already given.

During the absence of Christian the Seventh, on his travels in England and France, Baron de Rosencrantz had the direction of the war department. He was a man of superior intellect, and

liberal endowments. His manners were polished and graceful: his knowledge of the world extensive. He possessed every thing requisite to shine in a regal court.

Baron de Schak Ratlau was valued for his talents, and acquirement in literature and the fine arts. He enjoyed the esteem and confidence of Denmark, by his noble and generous conduct at the commencement of Struensee's administration. At the time of this great change, General de Huth, had arrived at the venerable age of seventy-five years; yet, he appeared to possess the activity of a man of forty, and all his mental faculties were still verdant. He owed his elevation principally to his merit. He was born in Hesse Cassel. After serving in several wars, he entered the Danish service as a lieutenant-colonel, under the administration of Count St. Germaine. He was plain and unassuming in his manners; and, exclusive of his professional fame, he enjoyed an unsullied reputation for morality and unbending integrity.

The minister who presided over the Danish chancery, was also possessed of qualities, that, equally with his compeers, had acquired confidence and esteem. The four first of the new ministers were knights of the Elephant, corresponding in rank with that of the Garter, in Great Britain: De Stamp was invested with that of Dannebrog. From this period, the crown prince dedicated his time to the acquirement of wisdom

and experience, whereby to qualify himself to reign. Not content with presiding in the council, he paid daily visits to his ministers, and most frequently to Count Bernstorff. He also attended the courts of justice, as well to observe the conduct of the judges, as to gain a practical knowledge of the Danish jurisprudence.

According to the authority of that intelligent writer, Mr. Coxe,* the only foreigner who was supposed to have had any prior knowledge of these transactions, was Mr. Elliot, who then resided as British envoy at Copenhagen, who had repaired thither from Berlin. The king of Great Britain, uncle to the crown prince, was the first sovereign to whom the prince royal communicated the success of his daring enterprize. Alas! how little did that virtuous sovereign, or his young nephew, imagine what dreadful visitations, in the course of a few years, the fleets and armies of Britain would pour on Denmark! Had it been foretold, it would have been regarded as some frightful vision springing from a distempered brain. From this period, the reign of Frederick the Sixth may be considered as commencing: the interesting events of which, will be related in the proper place.

* Vide Vol. 5. n. 177.

*The following short chapter is introduced, merely to remind the reader, of some of the leading events that occurred in Sweden after the death of Charles the Twelfth; and the better to elucidate the state of that kingdom when Gustavus the Third, overthrew the oligarchy in* 1772.

## CHAP. X.

# THE SWEDISH OLIGARCHY.

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THE Swedes have ever been celebrated for their valour and love of freedom. No nation on earth merits a higher character for every manly virtue. Under victorious princes, they gained abundance of glory, but it was at the expence of their independence. Gustavus Adolphus, considered merely as a warrior, justly merited the title of THE GREAT; but his deep inroads on the constitutional rights of the people, prevented his having any valid pretensions to that nobler appellation THE GOOD. It is a well known trait of the character of Charles the Twelfth, that when the archbishop of Upsala was about to place the diadem upon his head, the demi barbarian rudely seizing the splendid ornament, placed it himself on his head.

The death of that indifferent monarch, but great soldier, was regarded as a blessing by a great

part of the nation. And if the order of nobility had not found means to erect an OLIGARCHY upon the ruins of his despotism, the peaceable establishment of a free government might have indemnified Sweden for all the calamities which had originated in his vast and irrational ambition.

The sister of Charles the Twelfth, the princess Ulrica Eleonora, for the sake of securing a crown that might have been contested, renounced in her own name and that of her descendants and successors all claim to absolute power: and formally recognised the right of election to be in the nation in diet assembled. Her husband, Frederick the First, signed the charter agreed to by his consort; he adopted the Lutheran religion, and was elected and crowned king of Sweden.

The charter of 1720, was the work of the faction called the *caps*, who plumed themselves as *patriots*, because they had stripped the crown of undue prerogatives; and they would have merited the appellation, if instead of founding a grasping and devouring oligarchy, they had limited their own odious privileges, and extended the liberty of the three inferior orders.

The power of the king, by the letter of the charter of 1720, was reduced to a mere cypher. The monarch had no longer the power to declare war or make peace, levy taxes, raise recruits, appoint officers of state, or dispose of the property of the crown. The king had two votes in the senate, and if the voices were equal,

the casting vote, in such cases, lay with the king. The senate and nobility possessed all the power and patronage of government. The three inferior orders, namely, the clergy, burgers, and peasants, were oppressed, degraded, and mocked by a nominal share in the legislative power, but void of real authority or influence.

The following are the principal of articles contained in the charter extorted by the senate and nobility from the king and queen of Sweden, in 1720 and 1723, *viz.*

"The supreme power ought to reside for ever in the assembly of states, composed of the representatives of the four orders of citizens, the nobility, clergy, burgesses, and the immediate peasants of the crown.

"The states, whether convoked or not, shall assemble every third year, to review the conduct of the senate, colleges, and other departments in the execution of the laws entrusted to them; and to adopt such measures as may be necessary for the welfare and glory of the realm.

"The crown of Sweden shall not be held by any prince under the age of twenty-one years; and the states shall have the right of appointing tutors for the education of the royal family.

"The legislative power shall be wholly in the states, whose consent shall be necessary to give validity to the decrees passed by the king and senate, in the intervals between the meetings of the diets.

"The states reserve to themselves the right of making war, but, in case of invasion or domestic commotions, the king, in concert with the senate, may take measures for repelling force by force, without waiting for the meeting of the states, which shall, however, be convoked without delay.

"The king may coin money, but the standard shall be regulated by the states.

"The king shall not upon any occasion leave the kingdom, without the consent of the states.

"In case of a vacancy in the senate, three candidates, natives of Sweden, shall be nominated by the states, of whom his majesty shall accept one.

"During the illness, or absence of the king, the senate shall sign all public acts.

"All the superior military officers, from field-marshals to colonels inclusively, shall be appointed by the king.

"The states, assembled in diet, shall give redress to all persons prejudiced by the regulations, or decisions of the states.

"The ancient privileges of the senate shall be for ever inviolable, but no new privilege, relating to any separate order, can be valid without the consent of the whole.

"To these in 1723 were added the following:

"The king, in concert with the senate, may convoke the states before the expiration of the three years.

" Upon the death, absence, or illness of the king, the senate in a body may convoke the states; which they may also do, when the welfare of the country, or the liberty of the states, are in danger.

" If, in the above cases, neither the king nor the senate shall convoke the states, within the time prescribed, the states shall declare every thing done in the interval, both at home and abroad, null; of which they shall order notice to be given by the governor of Stockholm, and the governors of the different provinces, that the states may assemble of their own accord at the proper time and place.

" When the throne is vacant, the states, whether convoked or not, shall assemble at Stockholm thirty days after the death of the king, and shall proceed to a new election.

" The individuals, who compose the states, shall bind themselves by an oath not to propose, agree to, or execute any thing that has a tendency to change the form of government: and whatever shall be decreed by the states to the prejudice of the liberty and independence of the nation, shall be null and invalid.

" The senate and the king shall be responsible for their conduct in the intervals between the meetings of the diet.

" There shall be a secret committee for affairs not proper to be fully discussed; and this shall be composed of the three first orders, to the ex-

clusion of the peasants; all matters referred from the whole body shall be settled here, and the members shall be absolutely prohibited from conferring with foreign ministers.

"The states shall make the laws, but they shall be signed by the king, and executed in his name. In default of the king, the senate shall sign, and cause them to be executed.

"Each order shall have a vote in the regulation of affairs relating to the nation in general, and the plurality of the four votes shall decide the question; but where the just privileges of any single order are concerned, the matter must be decided by an unanimous vote of all the orders."

The defects of such a system of government are so palpable, they need no elucidation. For the exercise of the power wrested from the crown, two fierce and powerful factions contested. That which Russia supported was called the *caps*. That devoted to the furtherance of the French politics, was known by the appellation of the *hats*. The *caps*, to amuse the nation, professed their determination to cultivate the friendship of Russia, and promote internal and external peace, agriculture, and manufactures. The *hats* sought for partisans by extolling the value of a French alliance, stimulating the nation to aspire to the reconquest of the provinces that formerly belonged to Sweden. These two factions, with varied

success, carried on their machinations for half a century! alternately or simultaneously in the pay of France, Russia, England, or Denmark.

The martial spirit of the Swedes led them to forgive Charles the Twelfth, not only his losses in the field of battle, but his despotic principles. It could not be denied that his fierce and ungovernable ambition had covered Sweden with mourning, but it was sorrow unalloyed by dishonour. National pride was gratified in contemplating the exploits of the conqueror, whilst his fame poured a blaze of imperishable glory over his impoverished and exhausted country. His faults were all forgotten, and if they wept, it was rather on account of his fall, than of the sufferings he had entailed on his bleeding country. Such being the feelings of the great bulk of the population, as it might have been foreseen, the pacific measures of the *caps* were publicly condemned as being servile and disgraceful. And with diminished resources, and an impoverished exchequer, the prevailing faction rashly ventured on a war with Russia. The loss of an army of brave men, Count de Lewenhaupt, and part of the Swedish territories in Finland and Lapland, furnished lasting cause of regret in Sweden, for having suffered itself to be led astray by factious chiefs, who, under the plausible pretext of paramount regard to the public good, had no better object in view than the augmentation of their own power and revenues. During this war the king had perhaps a secret interest in thwarting,

as far as he could, the measures of the senate by which his power was shackled, and his splendor eclipsed. In revenge, the court of Versailles instigated the states, or rather the oligarchy, to add new trammels to those already fastened on the power of the monarch, by exercising the control of the senate over the personal property of the king.—On the 25th of March, 1751, at the advanced age of seventy-one years, died Frederick the First, who was succeeded by Adolphus Frederick. This prince had been married some few years to the Princess Louisa of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Great; a woman of rare endowments, and uncommon cultivation; she was the early patron of several of those great men, who afterwards extended the sphere of human knowledge, and shed an imperishable lustre on their country. Sir Charles Linne, K. P. S. Bergmann, and Menanderhjelm, were among the number of her scientific friends.

This great woman, who really merited the appellation of "*the Minerva of the North*" was peculiarly the object of senatorial vengeance. By the thirteenth article of the ordinance of 1723 it was enacted that the states of Sweden were empowered to inspect the jewels of the crown as well as those of the royal treasury: and merely to wound the feelings of the illustrious foreigner, who was alike eminent for beauty, dignity, and fine accomplishments; the senate demanded to inspect her jewels, pretending, as an excuse,

that their *high mightinesses* had heard that the queen had sent them to Berlin! Count Tessin, the Swedish ambassador at Berlin had delivered the jewels in question to the queen as her private property. They required the production of jewels that were become the private property of the queen, with the view to compare them with the inventory. The queen said to the senator who had demanded them, "I shall not admit of any inspection; nor, after such an indignity will I retain them As soon as they can be separated from my own gems, the whole that I received as a present shall be returned." The dignified severity of her looks; the firmness of her tone and manner; made the audacious noble not only look, but *feel* humbled. The states, goaded by the senate to do whatever was required of them, complained to the king, not only of her majesty the queen having shewn contempt towards the senate, but also for the nation, and great officers of the crown. "It should be remembered, that the queen came to Sweden as the king's consort, and to increase the authority of the crown." After stating several causes of complaint alike puerile and malignant, they concluded their rude and impertinent address by observing, "That the states of Sweden did not wish for any alterations in the sentiments of the king towards the queen, but that the queen should feel more respect for the nation."

The king, who was calculated to have excelled in the practice of domestic virtues, had not sufficient

firmness to repel this insolence as he ought: fearful of giving rise to internal commotions, the mild and benevolent man strove by humility and submission to sooth the anger of the oligarchs. He descended to make an elaborate apology for the queen, imputing all that was offensive to her ignorance of the Swedish language; urging with marked deference as to style and expression, that the jewels having remained ten years in her possession without any inspection having been called for, she considered the measure as implying distrust of her honour; and the more insulting, as the diamonds having been given to her as a present, were in fact her private property.

The states, however, led by the oligarchy persisted: the moderation displayed by the king, only encouraged the audacity of the predominant faction, and notwithstanding all the protestations of Adolf Frederick, the insulting and humiliating measure was carried into execution.

One of the *remonstrances* presented from the diet of 1756, contained the following singular expressions, viz: "The states beseech your majesty to remain master of the court, and King of Sweden, and *humbly pray* that all further correspondence on this subject may cease."

The king wished to be allowed to appoint the tutors, to whom was to be entrusted the education of his children, had selected a second governor for the crown prince; a privilege that the states would not permit him to exercise: the

place was declared to be unnecessary, the second governor was dismissed, and this resolution was accompanied by an insulting letter to the king. To shew the plentitude of their power and rudeness, they transmitted a peremptory order couched in the shape of an humble request, to dismiss the governor, and appointed Count Scheffer in his place. Urged by his queen, whose proud heart was half broken by these bitter humiliations, the king mustered resolution enough to protest against the right of the states to this prerogative over his children; but so overwhelming was the power of the ruling faction, that his wishes and his rights, as a parent or sovereign, were equally disregarded. Count Scheffer took possession of the king's eldest son, soon after which, several other officers were appointed to be immediately about his person. This was unquestionably done to inspire the young prince, even in his days of childhood, with sentiments of awe and reverence toward the order of nobles and the senate. As to the inferior orders, they were merely passive machines, moved and removed at the pleasure of their superiors.

Nor did the humiliations, to which the monarch was subjected by the venal and rapacious nobles, end here. To give legality to resolutions subversive of the royal authority, and made without the consent, or even the knowledge of the king, the senate caused a fac-simile of the sign-manuel to be engraved, which was affixed to such documents as they wished to promulgate unknown to

the king! The nation, instead of finding its liberty restored by the charter of 1720, saw itself the prey of an unprincipled aristocracy that trampled on the just prerogatives of the crown, and the rights of the people; that levied taxes which they caused to be collected, and disposed of as they saw good, from the burthen of which their estates were exempted. Indifferent to the horrors of war, or the blessings of peace, they put up to sale to the highest bidder, in the political market of Europe, the resources, courage, and influence of a brave and high-spirited nation.

Several opportunities occurred, that might, if improved, have led to the sure and sudden overthrow of the abhorrent faction that ruled with despotic sway in Sweden. But such was the king's fear of exciting a civil war, and thereby exposing Sweden to utter subjugation, he submitted to the degrading yoke of a venal aristocracy, that was alike fatal to the prerogatives of his crown, and the liberties and honour of the people. Instead of waiting for an opportunity of breaking asunder the fetters imposed by the oligarchy, he preferred incessant but unavailing efforts to render them less intolerable and galling.

At the instigation of his spirited and accomplished queen, the king secretly, if not openly, encouraged Counts Brahe and Horne, and other noblemen and burgers, attached to the faction called the *hats*, to endeavour to organize a force, military and insurgent, competent to seize on the

capital, and overthrow the Hats. It appeared by the evidence published, that the domestics of the king, as low as valets and footmen, were employed to excite by their discourses, the populace of Stockholm to take up arms against the Hats. It was through this channel the conspiracy was detected. The inferior agents were first arrested. The chiefs might have escaped, as there was ample time, and they were admonished by the sorrowing queen to lose no time in avoiding the destruction that impended. By a fatal confidence in the king, Counts Horne and Brahe remained, and were arrested. It is recorded that they were tortured in the cruellest manner to force them to accuse the king and queen, which they indignantly refused. The king had the mortification to be forced to ratify their condemnation, and sign their death warrant. The Countess Brahe, a high born and beautiful woman, far advanced in pregnancy, prostrating herself at the feet of Count Fersen, a leader of the Hats, in vain implored the callous statesman for her husband's life. He perished with his friends on the scaffold. Of their adherents, some were imprisoned, and others exiled: and thus terminated the effort made to put down the despotic sway of a venal nest of rapacious peers.

Instead of her husband, if the queen Louisa Ulrica had swayed the sceptre of Sweden, soon would that great woman have overthrown the fell tyranny of a detestable faction, who were strong only because her gentle-hearted husband was,

comparatively speaking, weak. Her elevated soul was wrung with unutterable anguish, when she heard of the sufferings endured by her faithful friends, without the power to rescue, or even to relieve them! Disdaining to shew homage where her bosom was filled with intense scorn and just abhorrence, she omitted no opportunity of displaying, as far as a due regard to her own dignity warranted, the contempt and aversion she cherished towards the cruel and unfeeling oligarchy, beneath whose hands the best and bravest of her friends had perished.

If Louisa Ulrica had possessed a mind like that of Catherine the Second, ambition, and a thirst of vengeance, might have led her to have given Adolf Frederick a premature passport to eternity, and have caused herself to be declared, during the minority of her son, administratrix of Sweden. If she deplored the too great forbearance that marked her husband's policy, she honored the goodness of his heart, knowing it was not any deficiency of personal courage by which his conduct was regulated, but a conscientious regard to his coronation oath, and an unconquerable dread of giving rise to a civil war. The queen never ceased to lament, whenever their memory occurred, the sad fate of her brave and unfortunate friends; but, if ever she entertained, she soon dismissed, all thoughts of vengeance from her bosom. She was really virtuous,—unaffectedly religious. Repressing as far as she could, the workings of indignation and am-

bition; she applied her great and capacious mind to the cultivation of literature, the fine arts, and sciences. She could not be prevented from superintending the education of her children. She engaged the king in numerous journies through the different provinces of Sweden; and seeking out genius in obscurity, transplanted it to a more genial soil, where its fine qualities might freely expand. And many of those deservedly great names that have conferred more real lustre on the Swedish nation than all the heroes of the Gustavian line, owed all their eminence, next to nature, to her fostering hand.

Acting upon a system of economy that was untainted by meanness, with an income inferior to many private gentlemen of England, she expended it so judiciously, that she left behind her many costly monuments that embellished Sweden, reflecting equal honor on her taste and judgment. The palace of Drottningholm, distant about seven English miles from Stockholm, was her favorite residence. That magnificent structure, which is equal in extent and magnificence to any royal palace in Great Britain, was enriched by innumerable additions, internal and external, derived from her own industry, wealth, and taste.

On a plan of her own designing, for the purpose of enjoying greater retirement, she built a tasteful little palace in the park at Drottningholm, calling it China Lustslot, *i. e.* the Chinese rural palace. Its architectural merit consisted in its

resemblance to the country palaces of the Emperor of China. It consisted of a centre, and on either side, of two smaller pavilions or *corps du logis*. Here her virtuous husband amused himself in mechanical pursuits, such as carving, turnery, and the less elegant toils of a white-smith; and here the queen devoted her leisure hours to the noblest of human pursuits, that of wisdom and science. Surrounded by the greatest names known in the annals of Swedish science and literature; and by domestic blessings; in this, and other enchanting spots, this illustrious woman strove to banish from her mind the bitter indignities that she had endured as nominal queen of Sweden.

After the judicial murder of her friends, the wrongs and insults to which she stood exposed, were multiplied. Through the feelings of the queen, the reigning factions strove to wound the king. She was accused of betraying state secrets, and carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the court of Berlin. Like the harpies of the poets, the oligarchs obtruded their baleful influence into the inmost recesses of the palace. They interfered with the king's table, that was always distinguished by a liberal economy; and even debarred the king and queen of appointing their domestic chaplains, who, in the Lutheran church of Sweden and Denmark, may be almost regarded as *confessors*. After various *changes of ministry*, the *Hats* and *Caps* were alternately above or below the political horizon, but always selfish, corrupt, and despotic:

and alike inimical to the just prerogatives of the crown, and the liberties of the people. To stem or escape the overwhelming flood of legislative and oligarchical corruption and despotism, the queen, aided by the crown prince, prevailed on Adolf Frederick to make one bold and decisive effort to shake off the degrading yoke, that humbled the crown and debased the people. The commencement of war between Russia and the Porte; and the death of Count Lowenhjelm, the inveterate opposer of French politics; favored the views of the Hats, and encouraged the cautious king to hazard the proposal of abdicating his throne. Pursuant to the opinion of his secret advisers, the king, to the surprise and vexation of the senate, refused to sign a public document they had presented; and demanded the convocation of an extraordinary diet, as affording the only remedy for the disorders complained of by his subjects. After refusing to sign this act, the king, on the 12th of December, 1768, expressed his intention of abdicating in the following terms, viz.:—

"If, contrary to all reasonable expectation, the senate should reject this proposal, I shall be forced to relinquish the burthen of a government, rendered intolerable by the wretchedness of the people who are taxed beyond their power of compliance. When my faithful counsellors shall have assembled the states, the reasons which have induced me to abdicate shall be communicated to

them. In the mean time, I peremptorily forbid the use of my name to any act of the senate.

(Signed) "ADOLF FREDERICK."

An answer to this letter, though demanded in forty-eight hours, was not returned at the end of five days; a decisive proof how greatly the senators were perplexed. Finding no reply was likely to be given, the king went personally to the senate. Pretending to want time for deliberation concerning his demand of convoking an extra diet, and with respect to his majesty's abdication, those conscientious men expressed their hope that he would desist from a measure incompatible with his oath, and the prosperity of the nation. In reply, the king told the usurpers (for such they were) that their answer was only to be considered as a refusal, and thenceforward he should interfere no farther with the measures of government.

It was with great difficulty, and only by the entreaties of his queen* and eldest son, that Adolf

* The following letters, written by Queen Louisa Ulrica to her son, afterwards Gustavus the Third, are highly honorable to her character, and well worthy a place in this brief memoir, viz.

LETTRE I.

J'ai été touchée vivement, mon cher fils, de la sensibilité que vous avez témoignée à mon départ. Je ne vous cache point que votre amitié m'est chere, et qu'il y a peu de mères qui puissent aimer plus tendrement leurs enfans que je ne fais; mais, à DIEU ne plaise que je vous aimasse

Frederick could be wrought up to the adoption of that apparently resolute conduct: almost immediately after which, the crown prince went in great state to the royal chancellary to demand, in his father's name, the *fac simile* of the royal signature that is already mentioned. His demand being

d'une amitié aveugle! ce seroit vous trahir, et non pas vous aimer. Je suis attentive à toutes vos actions, et je n'ai point à me reprocher de lâche complaisance pour vos defauts; je me flatte même, que ce sera, un jour, un des liens qui vous attachera plus intimement à moi.

Continuez, mon cher fils, à être exact à remplir tous vous devoirs: je mets audessus de tous le culte et la vénération que vous devez à L'ETRE SUPREME. Souvenez vous que les vertus morales sont en danger, si elles ne sont sontenues par les Chrêtiennes, et que les ames élêvées ont pour DIEU des sentimens qui partent du cœur, et qui leur donnent cette noble assurance dans toutes les actions de leur vie. Que la vôtre, mon cher fils, soit longue et que DIEU vous fasse la grace de vous mettre au rang de ces princes qui servent de modele aux siècles à venir ce sont, mon cher fils, mes vœux: ils sont sincères, et vous assurent de la tendresse infinie avec laquelle je serai à jamais.

Votre tendre mère,
Lou. Ulrique.

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LETTER. I.—Translation.

It was not without great emotion that I saw you, my dear GUSTAVE, so sensibly affected with my departure; for I freely own to you, that your affection is extremely

refused, Gustavus went to the other state departments, declaring at each place that his father had abdicated, and delivering to each of the members a printed statement of his majesty's reasons for having recourse to that extreme measure.

The senate, mortified and humbled, sent a deputation to the king, whom, to all appearance, they found inflexible: a line of conduct in which he persevered till, by a second deputation, the senate

dear to me, and that there are few mothers who love their children with more tenderness than myself; but GOD forbid that my love for you should ever make me blind to your faults! this were to betray, instead of loving you. I am attentive to all your actions, without having any reason to reproach myself with a weak indulgence for your defects; and I flatter myself that this will one day be a means of attaching you yet more closely to me.

Continue, my dear GUSTAVE, to be exact in fulfilling your several duties; the principal of which, is the veneration and worship due to the SUPREME BEING. Remember that moral virtue is in great danger when it is no longer supported by Christianity; and that all great minds have a sincere love for, and confidence in their CREATOR; which gives them that noble assurance so visible in every action of their lives. That your life may be of long duration, and that GOD may be graciously pleased to place you in the rank of those princes who become a model to future ages!—these are my constant prayers: they are sincere, and, therefore, assure you of the tender affection with which I shall ever be,

Your kind mother,
Lou. Ulrique.

consenting to call the states together, induced him to resume the reins of government; which, by the bye, he neither had, nor seriously intended to resign.

The extraordinary diet met on the 28th of April, and the senate not daring to negotiate the treaty without the participation of the states, all the measures of Russia and England were disarranged. Thus, the intrigues and the gold of France

## LETTRE II.

Je vous avois promis, mon cher fils, une plus longue lettre par le courier, et je me fais un plaisir de vous tenir parole. Je n'entrerai pas en detail des beautés des provinces, de leur situation, de leur commerce, et de leurs manufactures: le sujet sur lequel je veux vous entretenir, est infiniment plus interessant; c'est des habitants, de leur zèle, et de l'amour infini qu'ils témoignent au roi. A quoi serviroient ces vains tîtres et ces grandeurs, s'ils n'étoient accompagnés de l'affection du peuple. Le vrai bonheur, mon cher fils, est de pouvoir faire celui des autres: heureux celui qui en a le pouvoir! mais quelque peu que l'on puisse en avoir, il doit toujours avoir cet objet. Les princes qui s'eloignent de ces maximes sont des tirans, que la Providence a fait naître comme des instrumens de sa vengeance et dont les noms ont l'horreur au genre humain.

Dieu vous a donné, mon cher fils, des talens et une âme sensible: gardez vous toujours que ce cœur ne devienne la dupe de l'esprit; c'est un écueil qui a souvent terni les plus belles vies: que la votre aie la piété pour guide! c'est le plus sûr remède contre tous les égaremens.

Continuez, mon cher fils, à vous faire une étude de la

again began to acquire the ascendancy: the king returning to the senate, assured that body of his approbation of their conduct; asserted the purity of his own views, and declared the welfare of the nation to be his only aim.

The conduct of the Hats on this occasion,

vertu. Vous voulez savoir quel en sera le succès? Il sera proportionné à vos efforts. Pourquoi balancer? On n'est point sage par hazard. Les biens, les honneurs, les dignités peuvent aller au devant de vous; mais la vertu ne nous previendra jamais: elle ne s' obtient que par le travail et par un travail continu; mais ce travail doit il vous rebuter, dès qu'il vous procure la possession de tous les biens? N'espérez donc jamais pouvoir allier la volupté avec la gloire, la mollesse avec la récompense de la vertu.

C'est peut-être trop de morale pour une lettre. Je vais finir celle-ci en vous communiquant mon contentement sur les vôtres. Votre sincérité répare, en partie la faute que vous avez commise. Celui qui se résigne est à moitié corrigé; faites en sorte, mon cher fils que vous n'ayez plus de pareilles confidences à me faire. Donnez moi, par votre conduite, des preuves convaincantes de votre amitié. Soyez assuré de la mienne, qui ne finira qu' avec la vie, etant à jamais.

Votre tendre et bonne mère,

L. U.

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LETTER II.—Translation.

I promised you, my dear GUSTAVE, a long letter by the courier, and I have a pleasure in keeping my word. I shall not be particular in describing the beauties of these

proved how great was their reliance, in the ensuing diet, upon the support of France. Various expedients were adopted with a view to support that party; and a considerable subscription was raised in favor of the French faction by the principal merchants of Sweden.

provinces, their situation, commerce, and manufactures. I will rather tell you of the inhabitants, their zeal and affection for the king, which is a subject infinitely more interesting. Of what use were all these vain titles and grandeur, if not accompanied by the people's love? They would be troublesome burthens, and crowns of thorns. True felicity, my dear GUSTAVE, consists in the power of making others happy; fortunate is the man who is endowed with this power! but be our share of it ever so small, this ought always to be its principal object: those princes who depart from these maxims are tyrants, whom Providence created to be the instruments of its vengeance, and whose names are the horror of mankind.

GOD hath given you talents, and a heart not without sensibility; be careful lest it become a dupe to your understanding; it is a rock on which many a sensible man hath split. Chuse piety for your pilot, and you need not fear that you will err in your course.

Continue, my dear GUSTAVE, to make virtue your chief study. Would you know your success before-hand? It will be proportioned to your efforts. Why should we balance a moment? We shall never grow good by chance. Wealth, honors, dignities, may come of their own accord; but virtue must be eagerly pursued. She is not to be obtained without continued labor: but ought this labor to affright us, when we know that it will procure us all

By these energetic measures, and the quantity of money distributed by the French minister, the Hats obtained important electioneering advantages over the Caps. In spite of all the efforts of Russia, England, and Denmark, General Count Ferson was elected marshal of the diet, and of the secret committee, all the individuals composing which were devoted to his will. It was fortunate for the Caps, that the Hats were split into two parties: of these, the court or royal party, like the *ultra royalists* of France in 1815, were for rendering the crown absolute; the other party, called the "Old Hats," had no other view than to supplant their antagonists, and gain possession of the *loaves and fishes* of Sweden, without doing any thing in favor either of the crown or the people.

The first act of the secret committee was the dismission of the senators who had been appointed

that is desirable? You must never hope to unite sensuality with glory, nor indolence with the reward of virtue.

This is, perhaps, too much morality for a letter. I shall finish this in telling you with how much satisfaction I received your's; your sincerity is some reparation of the fault you have committed. He who acknowledges his guilt is not far from amendment. Behave, my dear GUSTAVE, so as not to have any more such secrets to entrust me with. Let your future conduct convince me of your affection. You may be assured that mine for you will never cease but with my life: being ever your tender and affectionate mother,

L. U.

under the influence of Russia and England: but still, all that could be obtained of this diet by the French court, which had lavished such large sums to obtain its appointment and favor, was, a declaration dictated by that anti-Britannic spirit which appears so powerfully to animate Sweden, and most of the continental nations of Europe, at the present hour. Its tenor was as follows; *viz.* "*That the English only aimed at the empire of the sea, and the extension of their commerce; which they were desirous of acquiring at the expense of other nations: that Sweden, therefore, could not consider England as her friend; and though it was the interest of Sweden to be upon good terms with the neighbouring powers, she could not enter into any alliance with them: that Sweden reckoned France and the Porte as her natural allies; and also Spain and Austria, as the friends of France.*"

The plan, between one diet and another, of giving to the king and the senate the power of forming alliances and declaring war, was successfully resisted by Colonel, afterwards General Baron Pechlin, a man of great ability and integrity, at the head of the party called the "*Old Hats.*" If it had succeeded, all the military resources of Sweden would have passed into the hands of the French minister, who would have immediately plunged Sweden into a war with Russia.

The plan which France had formed to overturn the Swedish government, and kindle a northern war in Europe, thus completely failed. The ex-

pensive expedient of employing the states to effect this purpose, was found to be useless; and no other and more effectual means could be devised. The daring and enterprising spirit that marked the character of the Swedes, and rendered a revolution, if attempted by a bold and sudden stroke, by no means improbable, was counteracted by the mild and pacific character of the king; of whom it was said, that he could never be brought into any measure by which the safety or interest of his family were likely to be involved in danger. The love of tranquillity seemed to increase with his years: his wise and virtuous queen, shocked at the blood that had been shed during her husband's reign, by each of the gladiatorial factions, refrained from urging him to any further efforts. She rested her hopes on the abilities and courage of her sons, particularly the crown prince. At the express request of the Duc de Choiseul, he had been invited to Paris; a circumstance that revived the hopes of the court party, who confidently expected it would lead to some effectual step for the establishment of the royal authority, and the overthrow of the two factions who alternately ruled the dominions of Sweden. Such was the state of that agitated kingdom, when the death of the king, on the 13th of February 1771, suddenly changed the face of affairs.

The character of this monarch is so fully developed in the preceding pages, there is nothing to add, except the observation, that, as he was

never suffered to reign, there is no grounds whereon to rest his public character. During the whole of his nominal sovereignty, Sweden was governed by conflicting factions, who waged war and negotiated peace, not as the safety or interest of Sweden required; but as those powers commanded whose gold had paid for their venal suffrages. Yet, during the reigns of Frederick the First, and Adolf Frederick, these very abuses gave a strong impulse to the factious nobles to cultivate their intellectual power; in hope, by their talents and eloquence, to obtain a share in the division of the power, profit, and patronage that had been wrested from the crown at the death of Charles the Twelfth. During this half century Sweden produced many great orators and distinguished statesmen: but they were bound in the fetters of party. Seldom were they permitted, if they even were inclined, to render any important service to their plundered and insulted country. For the space of half a century, under a nominal monarchy, Sweden was in fact an oligarchy. The senate and the order of nobles during that period exercised all the essentials of monarchy: hence, it would be a work of supererogation to give the characters of kings who never exercised the sovereign power. In the succeeding reign, the tables were turned upon the oligarchs. The whole kingdom groaned under their tyranny, and abhorred their venality. The blood that had been reciprocally shed by those fierce, venal, conflicting factions; and

the general detestation in which both parties were held, kept back the people from ranging themselves round the banners of either. Under the withering influence of their intriguing chiefs, it was in vain to hope for any thing beyond a change of masters. Thence, the prince who succeeded his father in the throne, like Frederick the Third, of Denmark, had little more to do than to follow the impulse of popular indignation; which operating in the same pernicious way as in Denmark, rendered the people more ardent in their wishes to see the foul and accursed oligarchy broken up, and driven far from the throne of Sweden, than to make terms with the monarch advantageous to her freedom, and equally fatal to the vile factions who had so long and so successfully preyed on the vitals of their country.

Louisa Ulrica, now queen dowager of Sweden, sustained a heavy affliction in the death of her mild and benevolent husband. The early promise of excellence displayed in the wonderful capacity of her eldest son, was blasted as he approached to manhood, by the deep dissimulation of his mind, and the propensities to which he was addicted. Her second son, Charles, (who yet fills the throne of Sweden,) gave himself implicitly up to the views of Gustavus. Her third son, who died at Montpelier, shewed her more deference than either Gustavus or Charles: his capacity was, however, less brilliant. Her daughter, Sophia Albertina, was possessed of a great share of per-

[illegible] virtue, a capacity as vast and varied as her splendid brother, and unsullied by his vices. The period had now arrived when this illustrious woman hoped to see avenged the wrongs and indignities she had, for nearly thirty years, sustained from the oligarchy that usurped all the prerogatives of the crown: but the vices with which she knew Gustavus to be deeply fraught, forbade the hope of ever seeing him deserve the title of a patriot king. She never doubted that his mind was adequate to any enterprise; but with real sorrow she anticipated that he would rear monarchial despotism on the ruin of the two conflicting factions. Her mild and benevolent views aimed at the adoption of a constitutional form of government, that should leave the people nothing to wish for by any future change. Absorbed in secret grief, she took no steps whatever of a political nature: and the absence of Gustavus, her eldest son; and of Frederick the youngest, (duke of Ostra-Gothland,) who were then in Paris, afforded the reigning faction, as they weakly supposed, the most favorable opportunity of confirming the durability of their usurped authority, and rivetting indissolubly their vile shackles on the king and people.

Perhaps the profound dissimulation which, beyond any other quality, marked the character of Gustavus, was owing to the necessity his father and mother had been under, of speaking on affairs of state with the utmost reserve; and having one set of opinions for the senate and ministers

of the crown, and another for their confidential friends. Be that as it may; in native talents, and acquirements, in presence of mind, and undaunted courage, Gustavus equalled the most accomplished men in Sweden; but, in *hypocrisy* he had no equal; he towered above them all, as the flight of the imperial eagle stretches into regions beyond the reach of birds of humbler wing. His associates were young, gay, dissipated courtiers, alike free from private morals or public principles; his ready tools and obsequious instruments.

## CHAP. XI.

# GUSTAVUS THE THIRD.

*Sophia Magdalena, consort to Gustavus the Third.—Auspicious commencement of his reign.—His secresy and self-command.—Profound dissimulation.—The diet of* 1771.—*Farther proofs of deep hypocrisy.—Outwits the senate.—Overthrows the oligarchy in* 1772.—*His gross impiety on that occasion.—Anecdote of Count Ugglas.—Gustavus lives apart from his queen.—The Duchess of Sodermanland.—A royal expedient.—Increased splendor of the court.—Gustavus encourages trade and manufactures.—Becomes a monopolist of brandy distilleries.—General discontent.—Insurrections.—Failure of his commercial speculations.*

THIS extraordinary monarch was twenty-five years of age at the death of his father, Adolf Frederick. Gustavus the Third was born on the 24th of January, 1746. He was married in his twentieth year to Sophia Magdalena, crown princess of Denmark. His lovely young bride was sister to Christian the Seventh, and daughter of Frederick the Fifth, by Louisa, daughter of George the Second, and Queen Caroline. The handsome and accomplished young couple, were married in the

beginning of November, 1766. The two disastrous matches, namely, that of Christian with Caroline Matilda, and Gustavus with Sophia Magdalena, taking place at the same time.

Seldom had a prince so fair an opportunity of serving his native land; and of becoming the idol of a grateful people. And never was there a monarch more liberally gifted by nature, or embellished by education. The path to imperishable glory lay wide before him. Every thing conspired to court his steps. But, alas! dissolute company, and perverted habits, had deeply polluted his mind long ere the sceptre passed into his hand.

Although to remove far away from his ill-fated consort—whom he hated because he had injured—might, as was alleged by Gustavus himself to one of the senators, have its influence in determining him to go on his travels; the grand object was to procure aid from the French court, whereby to enable him to overturn the oligarchy. With these negotiations he was far advanced at the beginning of 1771.

Gustavus was much too sagacious, however immoral, to believe that such polluted beings as those who were his minions, could be safely depended upon. When therefore, the news of his father's death arrived, he carefully shut up his real views in the recesses of his own mind, and appeared to his profligate companions perfectly contented with the nominal authority

that devolved upon him. And when one of those sycophants hinted at the pleasure he should feel in seeing the oligarchy laid low, and the power of the crown exalted; Gustavus, assuming an imperious frown, sternly forbade such discourse in future, telling the parasite that he looked on the senators as his best friends and safest counsellors; and, without a blush, accusing his illustrious mother of being the turbulent instigator of all the misfortunes and dissensions that had occurred during his father's reign.

At this period the court of Versailles was at its meridian splendor: its voluptuousness and corruption were at its height, and ripe for the punishment that awaited its deep iniquity.

Calculated to shine in any station, and to excel in every pursuit; it is no wonder that Gustavus succeeded in obtaining more favorable conditions than any other negotiator could have effected. He obtained six millions of livres; one-fourth of which was to be paid immediately; and the remainder in three successive yearly payments. The final arrangement of this affair kept Gustavus some months in Paris. The fact is, he wanted to secure this money to aid the blow he meditated against the oligarchy. The ambassador at Paris was a member of the senate. Gustavus had therefore a delicate and a difficult task to perform; but arduous indeed must have been that labor, the difficulties of which he could not have surmounted.

It is dubious if Gustavus even entrusted his brother Frederick with his views. It is already shewn, in how decisive a tone he curbed the loquacity of one of his courtiers. Nor was it in trifles only that the young king sought to blind and mislead his powerful and wily antagonists. He received their counterfeit pretensions of *loyalty* as sterling; and he repaid them with their own base coin: nay, he even went beyond them in expressions of attachment and devotion. In reply to their notification of his accession to the throne, he transmitted to the mistrustful oligarchs, the most eloquent and fervent protestations of his entire satisfaction with the existing order of things. He assured that senate, whose speedy humiliation he contemplated, and under whose tyranny he writhed, of his entire devotion to *their* councils; and that, with his heart's blood would he defend "*the purity of their doctrines, and the existence of their political power!!!*" He expressed his abhorrence of all violence, and in the least equivocal terms that language could supply; and upon his word of honor, as a king and a gentleman, he declared his firm determination faithfully to fulfil whatever the existing law prescribed; and to act conformably to the form of regency of the year 1720, to which he had already sworn!!! To leave the less reason to doubt the sincerity of his intentions, Gustavus declared he should consider and treat as traitors to their country, and personal enemies to himself, those who, secretly or openly, or in any

manner, should seek to establish an *arbitrary government* in Sweden. This master-piece of royal eloquence and dissimulation, he concluded with the solemn invocation, attesting his sincerity—"*May God so help me!*"

Whilst vast and important designs filled his mind, Gustavus apparently gave himself up to his licentious companions, and polluted pursuits. He attended the select parties of the beautiful and meretricious females of the Gallic court. With those he did not long remain a favorite; for it could not be concealed that this prince did not pay homage at the shrine of Venus. During his abode in Paris, Gustavus employed himself in obtaining, whether from the treasury of France or the Porte, the largest possible subsidy; as well as in endeavors to secure the firm support of France in the revolution he contemplated. Matters being at last satisfactorily arranged, Gustavus quitted Paris on his return to assume the vacant throne of Sweden. As he passed through Berlin, he spent a few days with the king, his maternal uncle. Without assuming any appearance of secresy or mystery, he found means to see his uncle once alone; and that unknown to his attendants.

Gustavus was received in Stockholm with acclamations of joy: when he met the senate, his manner was respectful and conciliating. He repeated verbally the professions he had transmitted from Paris. He paid a visit of condolence to the queen dowager, his mother; but seemed

desirous of avoiding any particular conference. His young and neglected spouse he scarcely deigned to notice; and that interesting princess, loaded with the trappings of royalty, was one of the least happy women in Sweden. It was in vain Louisa Ulrica sought interviews with her son. He was seldom to be seen except in company with Armfeldt, or some other of his vile associates, whose presence was intolerable to this high-minded woman. Amidst all his affected gaiety and dissipation, his mother saw the drift of his actions; and if entreaties, tears, and the most solemn admonitions, could have reformed his habits, and turned his thoughts, he would have been the saviour of his country by giving it liberty. Wearied by her remonstrances, the haughty prince forbade her visits; which treatment, as the politic prince perhaps foresaw, tended to confirm the oligarchs in the belief that their criminal plot had succeeded; and that Gustavus, being entangled in the evil courses to which he was first allured by their secret agents, was no longer to be dreaded. Probably, the rude treatment his mother experienced, was inflicted from a wish to produce this very impression.

Master of himself, and the sole keeper of his secrets, Gustavus shunned all private conferences with the chiefs of the court faction.* He appeared

* Sir John Carr, in his Northern Summer, p. 153, very gravely tells his readers, that Gustavus planned the revolution of 1772, "*in the recesses of the rocks at Haga!*" Surely some one imposed on his credulity!

to prefer the company of the reigning oligarchs. Meantime he omitted no opportunity of acquiring the affection of the populace. Three days in the week he set apart to give audiences to the people. He listened with well-dissembled earnestness to their details. He not only redressed those grievances that lay within his reach, but he relieved the wants of some; whilst to all he was courteous and condescending in the extreme; and thus he became the idol of the multitude.

In May 1771, a diet was assembled at Stockholm, in which, contrary to expectation, the Caps were found to have secured the ascendancy. Neither surprised nor dismayed by this unexpected circumstance, the young king, on the 25th of June, at the opening of the diet, made a speech that was so modelled, that whilst it covered his own views, it pleased the contending factions. In the course of his harangue, Gustavus said, "*Born and educated amongst you, from my earliest infancy, I have been taught to love my country. It is my greatest happiness, that I am a Swede: my greatest glory, to be a citizen of a free country. To behold it happy, is the first object of my wishes. To govern it, in a state of freedom and independence, is the last object of my ambition.*" He concluded a speech transcendently eloquent, and most gracefully pronounced, with the following well-chosen phrases: "*Do not, I conjure you, consider these as empty professions, falsified perhaps by the secret emotions of my heart; but receive them as the faithful*

*expression of what that heart feels, which is too honest not to be sincere, and too haughty ever to prove false to its engagements.*"

This artful speech, which abounded in general maxims of the most noble kind, appeared to give complete satisfaction to both parties. A grand deputation was appointed the next day to return him the thanks of the diet, and it was ordered to be printed.

Although the king kept aloof in the way described, the court party made every possible effort to obtain some concessions; but they found the Caps too vigilant to be deceived, and too strong to be subdued. One great object with them was to procure a relaxation of some of the points introduced by the charter of 1720 into the coronation oath, that restricted the power of the crown within such very narrow limits. The discussions which resulted, prevented the coronation from taking place that year. Such was the coolness of the king's conduct, that he appeared to feel little, if any, interest in these matters, apparently regarding them as mere party questions.

The coronation of Gustavus the Third was performed on the 22d of May, 1772, with an uncommon degree of pomp and magnificence; and he took the oath prescribed without faltering, although fully determined not to observe it! When the different orders of the state came to take the oaths of fidelity and to pay him homage, Gustavus then said, "Assured of your affections,

and sincerely resolved to merit that blessing, and to establish my throne on your love and happiness, the public engagements into which you are about to enter, would, in my opinion, be superfluous, if it were not, by the ancient laws and customs of Sweden, required at your hands. Unhappy is the king who stands in need of the bond of oaths to secure himself on the throne; and who, not assured of the hearts of his subjects, is constrained to reign only by the force of laws, when the love of his subjects is denied him."

Notwithstanding these fine speeches, the Caps were still suspicious of Gustavus, whose secret vices they well knew, but the vastness of whose genius they were yet, by one terrible lesson, to learn. It was a conflict between professed deceivers, and the king won the prize. At the very instant that he expressed to the different orders of the state his determination to maintain the existing state of things, *he had secretly written and finished the new constitution* that was to abrogate the existing oligarchy, and establish, under the mask of a free government, an hereditary despotism in Sweden.

With his youthful queen the king no longer kept up even the appearances of affection or regard: his mother he saw but seldom: his brothers he sent away from Stockholm; Prince Charles to Scania; and Frederick to East Gothland: his motives for this are only to be conjectured. He might be animated by a wish, at

such a crisis, not to have the whole family cooped up within the metropolis: he might be fearful, even of *their* fidelity; for it is clear, from the profound depths of his own hypocrisy, he could have no belief that any such things as honesty and sincerity existed in the human breast: again, the desire to derive support from their military talents, and influence on the minds of the soldiery, might stimulate him to send them into those provinces at this critical period.*

In accomplishing the revolution of 1722, Gustavus displayed qualities that amazed and confounded the hated and degraded oligarchs. The most insulting of all his acts was his requiring the fallen nobles, surrounded by hostile bayonets and loaded cannon, to join him in singing psalms to praise God for the revolution that had been accomplished, and by which their own political ruin was effected. It combined the most perfect cruelty, with the worst species of impiety; and dishonored the profligate king, infinitely more than it disgraced those whom it was intended to insult and mortify.

* The limits assigned to this memoir exclude a detailed relation of the revolution of 1772. The reader is therefore referred to "A History of the late Revolution in Sweden, by Francis Sheridan, Esq.; to the Travels in Poland, Russia, and Sweden, by William Coxe, A. M. &c.; and more particularly to the account contained in a work published in London about 1790, by Harlowe, St. James's-street, entitled, Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden, vol. I, p. 195, &c.

From the moment that this devouring oligarchy was destroyed, a new race of men appeared at the court of Sweden. The bold and haughty senators, each of whom thought himself on a level with his sovereign, degraded and dispersed, humbled and subdued, sullenly retired, overwhelmed with grief, shame, and dismay; carrying with them to their estates, the scorn and reproaches of their country: and in their place appeared a set of voluptuous and depraved parasites, such as might be expected to abound in an Asiatic court; and such as Sweden never knew till Gustavus displayed them in his train, and invested them with high commands. Except that many of them were of humble origin, they might not unaptly be compared to the *ultra royalists* of the present day in France. With them, the king was the source of all honor and of power; he was the representative of God on earth; and like God, in their corrupted creed, he had a right to dispose at pleasure of his creatures! At the head of these base minions were Armfeldt, and other dissolute nobles, whose vices were at once a stain to manhood, and a scourge to their country.

The celebrated Count Ugglas, the secret and unconstitutional adviser of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, owed the foundation of his future greatness to this revolution; for just as it was completed, the triumphant king, flushed, with victory over a venal, detested aristocracy, walked into

his chancellory in the royal palace. Delighted with the occurrence, this Ugglas, then a young man, and a writer in the chancellory, forgetful how vast was the distance between his situation and his sovereign, went up to him with his head erect, and every feature dilated with joy; and seizing him by the hand, and giving him a hearty slap on the shoulder, exclaimed, "*Thou art worthy to be our king! Gustavus for ever!*" More pleased than offended with a familiarity that denoted the sincerity of his good wishes, Gustavus took Ugglas under his peculiar protection, and laid the foundations of his future greatness. Under Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, Mr. Ugglas was created a count, and enriched with the spoils of the kingdom. He was the secret adviser of that unfortunate prince, and, in conjunction with the execrable Armfeldt, highly instrumental in promoting those despotical measures that led to his dethronement and banishment.

As the king did not cohabit with his queen, to prevent the Gustavian race from becoming extinct, he deemed it advisable that his brother Charles should marry. The Princess of Lubeck Eutin, (now queen of Sweden,) was fixed on as his bride. She was then young, beautiful, accomplished, of a sweet disposition, and warmly beloved by her court and attendants. The duke, her husband, who was completely a libertine, still persevered in his amatory pursuits, and the hopes of those seemed

likely to be disappointed who waited in anxiety for an heir to the throne.*

Some time after this royal marriage, which was celebrated by the court with distinguished splendor; it was officially announced, that the young and beautiful duchess was

"*As ladies wish to be who love their lords.*"

The nation felt deeply interested in the event; and so near was the duchess supposed to be to her time, that the cannon on the batteries were kept ready charged, that were intended to communicate the happy event of her safe delivery to the metropolis! When, most unexpectedly and suddenly, these pleasing expectations all vanished; and, instead of an heir to the crown, it was announced that the young duchess had *mistaken* her situation, and had been troubled with a '*false conception!*'

Probably the duchess was never pregnant: but

* "The Swedes universally lament that he" (Gustavus the Third) "has no children by his queen; and it is on this account, that his next brother, Prince Charles, is now married. *The king is said not to be of an amorous complexion, or attached to women.*" Wraxall's Tour, &c. p. 127.

"It has been asserted, and *I believe with truth, that his* (Gustavus the Third) *sensibility towards the female sex, was far from being lively: he seldom cohabited with his queen.* Strange to tell, gifted with acute feelings, and a warm and brilliant imagination, this accomplished prince, descended from a race of beautiful females, displayed an example of almost monkish continence." Sir John Carr's Northern Summer, p. 130.

that a *near relation* to her husband was; and out of compassion for her, that the young and generous princess, encountered the risk of assuming the appearance of pregnancy, in order to adopt as hers, the infant with which her amiable relative was teeming.

There are circumstances connected with this delicate subject, that it might not be advisable to publish, though essential to historical truth. The queen mother, Louisa Ulrica, certainly *doubted* the probability of her sons ever becoming fathers. And this strange belief in a mother is said to have been the cause why the queen dowager questioned the *reality* of the pregnancy of the young duchess. She certainly suspected that Gustavus and the duke himself were privy to the intended fraud—and who will believe that the duke was innocent? Several times the dowager queen hinted her suspicions to Gustavus, who would not hear a word on the subject. Determined not to be trifled with, it is said that she threatened to make public her suspicions, if the reality of the appearance of pregnancy were persevered in.

The Friherre BENZELSTJERNA is said to have been the nobleman whom Louisa Ulrica sent to the duchess to announce, that if she did not lay aside the assumed appearance, her mother-in-law was determined to institute a public inquiry. This was a blow that could not be parried. The duchess made a frank avowal that she was *not* pregnant; and said, laughing as she spoke, "*Well!*

—*never mind! if it is not so at present, it may happen in a short time!*"

It is truly difficult to believe that, unknown to her husband, the duchess could carry false appearances so far as to have her pregnancy officially announced to the nation; and solemn prayers offered up in the churches for her safe delivery.—And it is no less so to suppose that the duke would dare to attempt such a fraud, without the sanction of the king his brother. The author of a work, entitled Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden,* alluding to this singular occurrence, observed that this *disappointment* of her hopes, "*put the king as well as the duke* very much out *of humour*." It is believed, both were privy to this attempt to substitute an heir to the throne. This failure gave rise to an expedient still more extraordinary, adopted two years afterwards; to which Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, is said to be indebted for his existence.

Whilst these events were passing, a marked change was observed in the conduct of the king, who assumed a degree of state quite at variance with his professions of economy. He lavished the wealth of the kingdom in feasts and tournaments, and swelled his household establishments to an extent far beyond what Sweden had ever before witnessed. Louisa Ulrica almost ceased to rejoice at the humiliation of the oligarchs; since, instead of

* Vol. I. p. 7.

those high-born and powerful lords, she saw the court filled with a race of servile and unprincipled parasites and flatterers, who, fattening on the prevailing profusion, applied all their influence to strengthen and increase that love of pageantry and magnificence which was already too conspicuous. She beheld with sorrow and regret, that, in less than two years, not only the admiration, but even the esteem of the liberal and cultivated part of his subjects, was rapidly on the wane. She foresaw that this boundless waste must lead to acts of rapacity and injustice, which, accumulating from year to year, might ultimately produce some catastrophe fatal to his life and power. When an opportunity of remonstrating with Gustavus presented itself, she never failed to embrace it. Impatient of wholesome counsel, and forgetful of the obligations he was under to his illustrious mother for those accomplishments which dazzled mankind, Gustavus treated her advice with contempt, and haughtily forbade its repetition.

In the affectionate Albertina, her only daughter, who had arrived at the full maturity of beauty, virtuous in principle, and no less accomplished than the ungrateful Gustavus; and in the society of a few select and loyal nobles of the old court; the queen mother endeavored to console herself for his want of filial affection. Prince Frederick was, however, kind and attentive: but the depraved habits of her two eldest sons, had totally alienated their affections. Whilst Louisa

Ulrica mourned over the ruin she could not help anticipating from their vicious courses, she took every precaution to conceal her sorrows from the world; and, on all occasions, strove to palliate their conduct.

Notwithstanding the passion of Gustavus for the possession of unlimited power, the display of his fine taste, and a degree of magnificence in his court that was incompatible with the impoverished state of the finances; the six first years of his reign were, speaking comparatively, usefully employed. He applied with great industry his extraordinary talents to the improvement of the commerce, husbandry, and finances of Sweden. That he did not perfectly understand the principles by which trade is created and improved, was evident by the failure of all the plans he adopted: he was, however, *sincere* in these endeavors to benefit his country; his motives therefore must not be too narrowly scrutinised. He established manufactories at Stockholm and Gothenburg, to relieve the wants of the destitute poor by finding them employment; which he furnished with raw materials. In Stockholm alone, in 1773, twelve thousand poor persons were thus employed. If kings engage in trade, they will be sure to lose their capital. It turned out so with Gustavus: those *forced* establishments ultimately failing, after having occasioned an enormous waste of treasure. Gustavus gave the first great impulse to the better cultivation of Finland: he encouraged

the importation of corn; prohibited dealers from keeping it in store, whereby to enhance its price; adopting the most decisive measures to counteract those monopolisers, whose ever grasping avarice, backed by enormous wealth, sought to increase overflowing coffers, although the poor and destitute perished by its effects in the streets, or by the highway side.

The expenses of the court were swollen to an unprecedented sum; the love of the king for grandeur impelling him to assume a degree of splendor that might have better suited the vast and powerful empire ruled by Catherine the Second.

A dignitary of the church of Sweden once said to Gustavus, "There are two things with which a wise king of Sweden would not meddle; namely, *religion* and *brandy!*" The first, Gustavus was wise enough to leave to the priesthood; but the second offered a temptation not to be resisted. In 1772, the king had declared he was firmly bent on the suppression of all monopolies: at the same time he prohibited private stills. Previous to this period, every Swedish farmer was at liberty to distil from corn or other substances. For the sake of revenue, Gustavus prohibited this right, which rendered him unpopular, and gave rise to many petty insurrections; to suppress which, he was forced to have recourse to his standing army. During three years he persevered in these unpopular measures. The prohi-

bition was, however, recalled in 1775: the privilege of distilling brandy was wholly monopolised by the crown, which was granted to a limited extent to individuals, on the payment of a certain sum, for a fixed period of years. The want of a sufficient number of contractors or farmers of this royal monopoly, forced the king to abandon his plan. His next determination was to become, himself, the only distiller in Sweden! He set about this enterprise with his usual ardor. Gustavus flattered himself he had discovered a new *Potosi* in his poor and barren kingdom. He interdicted the importation of foreign brandies: bought up, (probably at his own price,) the materials used by private distillers, and enacted very heavy penalties in case of this royal monopoly being infringed.

Complaints, murmurs, execrations, and menaces, were heard in the metropolis, and in every province of his kingdom. The fourth estate (peasants) sent deputations to the king, remonstrating in bold and energetic terms against the assumption of this monopoly, and demanding the restoration of their old, indisputable right of distilling brandy for their own consumption. Disregarding these remonstrances, the king still persevered; when serious commotions broke out in various parts of Sweden. Even in the metropolis it was found necessary to station guards at the royal brandy factories, to prevent their being destroyed by the indignant populace. He was so stubborn, or rapa-

cious, that rather than relinquish a revenue thus gained, he hazarded his crown and life.

Many of his regulations relative to commerce were judicious; these were adopted at the suggestion of persons who best understood its principles: wherever the king preferred his own theories, however plausible they might appear, abstractedly considered, they invariably failed when put to a practical test.

## CHAPTER XII.

*Vast projects of Peter the Great.—Their progressive realisation.—Gustavus attempts to counteract Russia.—Catherine the Second and Gustavus.—Their opposite views and preparations.—Great national undertakings began or completed by Gustavus at Carlscrona and Sveaborg.—Visits his provinces.—Reforms local abuses, and punishes several unjust judges.—His great and varied talents and acquirements.—Effeminacy of his court.—Honors paid by Gustavus to the memory of Sir Charles Linné.—Suffers his invaluable collection to be sold.—Embellishes Stockholm.—Practises the utmost profusion.—Recommends frugality to his subjects.—Sumptuary laws.—Corrupts the national manners.—Lavishes his treasures on idle pageantry.*

When Peter the First, on the sylvan shores of the deep, broad, majestic Neva, laid the foundations of the future capital of European Russia; estimating in his capacious mind the growth of power with civilisation, he probably considered

that his successors would extend the north-west frontier till it should embrace the whole of the territories then appertaining to Sweden and Denmark.* Gustavus the Third was often heard to assert, that if he were Czar of Russia, in defiance of all Europe combined, in seven years he would realise that project, and give law to all the world!

* In "*A Sketch on the Military and Political Power of Russia*," the author, (who by acclamation is pronounced to be lieutenant-general Sir ROBERT WILSON, &c.) speaking of Peter the First, observes—

"In the years between 1701 and 1711, the Czar Peter was contending, with various success, against the Swedes, Turks, and Poles, for an advance of his European frontier.

"In the year 1713, having conquered Riga and Livonia, he built the city of Petersburgh, transporting *thirty thousand* from Archangel to be the inhabitants; and inviting foreigners, particularly the English, to settle there.

"In the year 1714, he developed his *naval projects*, which have been *suspended*, but never *abandoned* by his successors.

"In the year 1721, he declared himself Emperor of all the Russias; and on his death, in 1729, the world added, and preserved to his memory, the posthumous title of "THE GREAT."

"From the year 1729 to 1762, although Russia, under *six sovereigns*, some of whose reigns were short and tragical, proceeded in the attainment of internal strength, solidity, and trade: although in the reign of Elizabeth, she had connected herself with England, and acquired a military character, still she had not taken her station as a great European power.

"When Catherine the Second mounted the throne, only *twenty-two* millions of people paid her homage.

"During her reign of *thirty-three* years, according to the best authorities of the time, the number was augmented to nearly *thirty-six millions* by acquisition, and natural increase of population."

The provinces wrested from Sweden by the disastrous wars that were ended by the treaties of Abo and Nystadt, gave Russia the command of the Baltic, and of an invaluable source of commercial prosperity. Gustavus knew the vast ambition of Catherine the Second; he envied her magnificence, and dreaded her power. If she usurped the throne of her husband, (Peter the Third,) she inherited the spirit of Peter the First, treading in the path which that noble savage had marked out. When Catherine heard of the revolution of 1772, being accomplished, she was at once astonished and grieved. The nobles and courtiers who were in her pay, had not prepared her mind for such a result. But when informed of the extreme magnificence of Gustavus, and that in point of ceremony he equalled the court of Versailles; and in splendor emulated, if not

"Alexander commenced his reign in the year 1800, over *thirty-six millions* of people:—

"The acquisitions of his predecessors had been enormous; but they had not yet completed the line of frontier.

"The guns of the Swedes could be heard in Petersburgh. Denmark and Sweden had considerable navies.

"*Aland* covered the Swedish coasts from insult or sudden invasion, when the gulph of Bothnia might be frozen; and *Sveaborg* commanded the navigation of the mouth of the gulph of Finland.

"When Alexander came to the throne, *thirty-six* millions of people acknowledged his authority; *but at this day* (1817) by increase and acquisition, there cannot be less, at the LOWEST calculation, than FORTY-TWO millions; and not of Asiatic houseless hordes, wandering in deserts, but chiefly of Europeans."—pp. 116, 117, 121 to 128.

eclipsed, every other throne in Europe, she was secretly pleased, not doubting but his love of pageantry would soon disgust his subjects, and probably enable the nobility to renew those fetters that were so suddenly snapped asunder. Compared with the pecuniary resources of Catherine, Gustavus the Third was an indigent prince. The prince Potemkin, and perhaps several other of her favorites, and first-rate nobles, possessed a revenue far exceeding the entire income allotted for the support of the whole of the royal family of Sweden. It was therefore with real pleasure that Catherine heard of the magnificence that prevailed at the court of Gustavus; and on more than one occasion she derided his pigmy efforts, calling him by coarse and insulting epithets, of which the least offensive were, "*the little king*;" and, "*the amateur player of Stockholm.*"

Amongst crowned heads, occurrences, trivial as these, have sometimes had powerful influence on the destinies of nations. The sarcasms of Catherine, perhaps with additions and embellishments, were reported to Gustavus, who suffered them to make too deep an impression on his mind: from this period a strong feeling of personal enmity was blended with the hostility of Gustavus to the politics of the empress Catherine the Second.

The king exerted himself with inconceivable activity to place his army and navy on a formidable footing, for he aspired to the maritime

sovereignty of the Baltic. When Gustavus had any great object in view, he was seldom very nice regarding the means of attainment. His uncle, Frederick of Prussia, accused him of intending to burn the Danish royal navy by incendiaries, hired for that purpose: perhaps he also intended to treat the Russians in the same way. Gustavus secretly determined to make a sudden irruption into the Russian territories the first favorable opportunity, made as great exertions to build a formidable navy, as if all Sweden were an island, whose safety, like that of Great Britain, depended upon her fleet. The works begun by Gustavus at Carlscrona,* were of stupendous magnitude; the

* Carlscrona, the capital of the province of Bleking, and the residence of the governor, is situated upon the shore of the Baltic sea, and built upon a large insulated rock. The road to it is over two other islands, which are joined to the main-land by three large bridges, and contain two suburbs of considerable size, but dirty and ill-built, being inhabited only by the lower sort of people. The city takes its name from its founder, Charles the Eleventh

"I was conducted by an officer, who had been in our service, under Mr. Dedel, to the port. This is very large and convenient, being almost surrounded with docks, and having a long bridge, on the two sides of which vessels, not in use, are kept at moorings. I reckoned here twenty-eight vessels of the line, and frigates, amongst which were one of 100 guns, one of 96, one of 84, two of 74, and several of 60 and 50 guns. The whole fleet, including five vessels now equipping, consists of thirty-seven vessels of the line, and nine frigates. The five vessels thus fitting

expense far exceeding the value of any possible benefit that could rationally be expected. They were calculated to strike every spectator with amazement; and to immortalise the name of the royal founder, rather than prove of utility commensurate with the prodigious disbursement they

out, and four others, which were in the water, but unrigged, were built in the course of four years. There were several upon the stocks, either wholly, or almost in skeleton; and I was shewn one of these vessels, which was constructed in six weeks, all the parts having been prepared beforehand. The plan of reviving and increasing the naval force was concerted about four years ago; one part of 1782 was spent in preparing and collecting the materials, and in 1783 they began to build. It is intended to build four vessels annually, till the fleet shall be restored to a respectable situation; and, to defray the expences of this plan, the king has suspended the execution of half the works at the new dock. These works are, indeed, stupendous, and exceeded all the high-wrought expectations which I had conceived from the accounts given of them. Twenty-nine years have been already spent in forming them, and they yet want much of completion. At the entrance is a bason hollowed in the rock, of about fifty feet in depth, and surrounded by quays of free-stone, at which four men of war may at the same time receive or discharge their stores. From this bason, canals of communication are formed, that, by means of large locks, afford a passage for each vessel into its own dock, of which there are twenty for ships of the line, and ten for frigates.

"One of these separate docks, with its canal and lock, is entirely finished. The bottom is composed of free-stone, joined and cemented with pouzzolane, a sort of cement,

occasioned. It is difficult to convey an adequate idea of the immense labour expended on the docks at Carlscrona. If the London or Liverpool docks had been excavated out of rocks of granite, the enterprise had not been as difficult for England to perform, as those at Carlscrona were for

brought for that purpose from Italy, and laid in a bed, which has been hollowed in the rock, exactly of the shape of a ship's keel. Along the whole length of this dock, they have contrived galleries of stone, by means of which they erect the beams or scaffoldings, when the vessels is rendered entirely dry, in order to be repaired. The walls which support the roofs and separate the docks from each other, are formed of the same free-stone and cement, and are at least of the thickness of twenty feet up to the height of the vessel's upper deck. There platforms are constructed for the reception of the guns of each vessel, which are delivered and received through large arched openings communicating with the platform, and with the inside of the dock.

"The roof is of timber, plated on the outside with iron, and so contrived as to bear all the levers used in loading and unloading the vessel. When the dock is to be rendered perfectly dry, the water is suffered to run through a vent in the bottom, which they open by a machine prepared for that purpose; it is then received in a bason hollowed immediately under the dock, and from thence is forced, by means of a windmill, into the other bason before-mentioned.

"These covered lodges, when the plan is perfected, will form a large semi-circle; but the second is yet unfinished, and, from the immense expences of the undertaking, it seems doubtful whether the whole number will ever be

Sweden. The Swedish engineers, Polheim and Thunberg, although their talents have been much under-rated by careless or superficial British-tourists, were men of vast genius and profound science, and the first projectors of these works. The nation was, in a manner, impo-

completed. At present they are chiefly employed upon the improvement of the ancient dock, which will, probably, be not less useful than the new one. Indeed, it is by no means certain, that vessels can be preserved by this method longer than by those now in use; and, even if this is admitted, it will still remain to be enquired, how far the millions expended in forming the docks, sluices, basons, and canals, are likely to be repaid by the savings proposed.

" This new dock was begun in the late reign, upon a plan suggested by one Thunberg, now a very old man, who has the direction of the works constructing upon the Gothe Alf. The ancient dock, which is a sort of canal of 350 feet in length and 30 in depth, was hollowed in the rock, and entirely completed between the years 1715 and 1724. It was planned by Polheim, and is situated between the port and the new dock, communicating, on one side, with the dock-yard and port, and, on the other, with the sea, by means of two canals of such size as to admit the passage of first-rate men of war. Both canals are enclosed by very large flood-gates, and before that which opens towards the sea, they have placed a moveable dam of very ingenious construction, in order to protect the sluice from the violence of the waves. When a vessel has entered the dock, in order to be caulked, they shut the gates, place the dam before them, and an immense pump is put in motion, either by men, or horses, which in twelve hours renders the dock entirely dry.

verished by the expense: the king, however, persevered, and at the time of making war on Russia, he had created a navy too powerful for Sweden to be long able to maintain, yet totally inadequate to the attainment of the sovereignty of the Baltic, a shallow sea, unsafe for large ships, and shut up by ice several months every year. The genius of Gustavus gave birth to the largest navy Sweden ever possessed, which was soon after destroyed by his inexperience and presumption, in the bay of Wiborg.

This magnificent and enterprising prince undertook another work, equal in magnitude and expense, but of a far higher order in point of national importance, in completing the fortress and the naval docks, built upon, or rather excavated in, the granite islands that cover the entrance to a large bay near Helsingfors, in the gulph of Finland. His object in this was of a two-fold nature, *i. e.* to protect Sweden from invasion on the side of Russia by land or sea; and to facilitate an invasion of that country by the Swedish fleet or army.

"The port of Carlscrona, which is very deep, and easy of entrance, is capable of containing an hundred ships of the line. It is defended by two strong forts, whose fires cross each other, and are undoubtedly able to sink any fleet that should attempt to force a passage. They are both built upon rocks in the sea; the one called Kongsholm (King's Island) the other Drotnings-kiar or Queen's Rock.—Vide Journey through Sweden, p. 148, &c.

When Sweden was compelled to cede a considerable portion of Finland to Russia, it became necessary to construct new fortresses to protect the country that remained. The Swedish generals and engineers represented a cluster of island rocks that stretch across the entrance from the gulph of Finland to the shore near Helsingfors, as the spot most eligible for the scite of a new fortress, and the formation of a secure haven for the Swedish navy. General Ehrensward had the chief direction of this enterprise, and the works were commenced in 1748. The plan of the intended fortress was highly approved: it was named *Sveaborg*, i. e. the Safeguard of Sweden. From this period down to the year 1775, upwards of five millions of dollars were expended, and still the works were incomplete.*

* The following description of Sveaborg is extracted from the Travels of Mr. Coxe, in Sweden, vol. 4, p. 13, &c.

"But one of the most curious and important fortresses in the Swedish dominions, is Sveaborg, situated near Helsingfors.

"Seven islands, lying within the circumference of four miles, compose this fortress.—namely, Längärn, the nearest to Helsingfors, is 600 feet in length and 500 in breadth. Wästra Swartö, S. E. of Längörn, is 1400 feet in length, and 800 in breadth.—Little Ostra Swartö, 800 feet square; Stora Ostra Swartö, 3000 feet in length, and 1600 in breadth; Wargön, lying in the centre, 2400 feet in length, and 2000 in breadth: it is the principal island, and contains the governor's house.

When Gustavus the Third visited Sveaborg, being struck with the advantages of its local situation, he determined to improve upon the original plan, so far as to be considered as the second founder. Secretly bent on war, under the specious mask of defensive preparations, he

Sixth, Gustafsvärd, S. E. of Wargön, 1600 feet in length, and 1200 in breadth.—Seventh, Skantz Landet,* S. of Gustafsvärd, an island as big as both Wargön and Stora Östra Swartön, but of which only 600 feet are to be fortified.

"The works are really stupendous, and worthy of the ancient Romans. The walls are chiefly of hewn granite, covered with earth, from six to ten feet thick, and in a few places not less than 48 feet high. The batteries, which begin upon a level with the water, and rise in tiers one above another in all directions, commanding the only channel through which large vessels can sail to Helsingfors, render the passage of an enemy's fleet extremely dangerous, if not impracticable.

"In Wargön is a dry dock, capable of containing eleven or twelve frigates, hollowed in the solid rock 800 feet long, 200 broad, and 14 deep.† It is divided into

* The orthography of Mr. Coxe, in Swedish proper names, is in general erroneous: the names of the islands on which the celebrated fortress Sveaborg was constructed, were copied from a map of Helsingfors, laid down by N. G. Wirming, and engraved by H. Akerland and E. Personne, 1808. In this map there is no mention of such an island as Shantz Landets;—probably Mr. Coxe meant Bockholmen: according to the scale laid down in the above named map, it is probable that Mr. Coxe is wrong in the dimensions given to those islands.

† This depth is certainly too shallow; although Swedish frigates are smaller, and draw less water than British.

resolved there to accumulate such vast military magazines as should, at any favorable moment, admit of a sudden and formidable invasion of Russia; carrying his anticipations so far as the capture of Petersburg, the destruction of the Russian marine, and transporting to Stockholm, as a trophy of

three equal parts by two brick walls, which run lengthways; each part will contain four frigates, and may be closed with sluice gates, so that each vessel lies separately from the other. The whole is covered with a wooden pent-house roof, in order to preserve the frigates from the rain: this bason contained eleven frigates. At one extremity of this dock is a bason 200 feet square, closed at each *end* with sluice gates, which serves for the entrance and exit of the frigates, and likewise for repairing and building ships. At the other end another bason was finished, of the same dimensions, for a man of war, which may likewise serve for the passage of the frigates, whenever the other is employed in repairing or building of ships. The magazines for the stores and artillery are built on the edge of the water, which is of sufficient depth to admit each vessel close to the quay, to be equipped without trouble. There is an excellent port for seventy sail of the line, and a small harbour, no less secure, for ten frigates.

The garrison, in October 1784, consisted of 350 soldiers and 600 marines; but when the whole fortifications are completed, will require 12,000 men. For the purpose of building and fitting out ships at Sveaborg, the Swedes procure oak from Gothland; part of the flax from Finland; hemp and masts from Riga. Such, in October 1784, was the state of Sveaborg; a fortress which, even in its present unfinished state, will be

victory, the magnificent equestrian statue of Peter the Great, that Catherine the Second had commanded Falconet to prepare for the decoration of her residence! Such were the flattering visions in which the ambitious Gustavus indulged: nor was Catherine a passive spectator of his conduct. That great woman penetrated his real views; and filled, not alone his metropolis, but his court, with her secret agents. She chiefly depended upon the indigent nobility and officers of Finland. The result shewed, at the critical moment of peril, how well she was obeyed by those mercenary and restless chiefs. That venal and rapacious oligarchy, whose criminal conduct reduced Sweden to a state that afforded Gustavus the Third an opportunity of establishing, if he had pleased, despotism by law; had greatly neglected the Swedish army and navy. They were loudly and generally accused by the nation, of having appropriated to their own use, and distributed amongst their partisans, the revenue of Sweden. Gustavus took care to convince his people of the dilapidated state in which he found the army, navy, and fortresses; and he zealously strove to supply every thing that was wanting to effect their restoration. He distributed clothing, tents, and new musquets to each regiment; the fortresses were all put into a state of

capable of harassing the Russians in case of war; and which, should it be completed, may justly be called the Gibraltar of the north."

defence, and furnished with artillery. A new manual exercise was introduced, in which the troops were manœuvred by Gustavus in person. He suppressed the sale of military offices and commissions: increased the pay of the officers; and introduced such regulations as secured them, at the age of fifty, the means of retiring on full pay for the rest of their lives.

Gustavus made frequent journies through different provinces, that he might, from personal observation, judge of the real state of trade, manufactures, agriculture, and the interior police. In one of these tours through Nerike, the most beautiful and picturesque province of Sweden, the king acquired great popularity by the dismissal of the governor, on a charge of malversation. The seneschal, and the treasurer of Dalecarlia, were also dismissed: but that example which produced the most powerful impression, was the sentence pronounced by Gustavus upon the principal court of justice held at Jönköping, the capital of Ö-stre-Götland. The accused were obliged to appear in person at Stockholm: the cause was pleaded publicly before the king, who said, in his opening speech, "I have delivered you from an oppression that rendered all justice venal. I have made laws for securing the rights of the poorest of my subjects, and those laws have been violated. I owe an example of justice to posterity."—Four members of the high tribunal of Jönköping, having been

found guilty, were dismissed from their offices, and several others were suspended from the exercise of their judicial functions.

These acts are really an honor to Gustavus; as was also his relieving the farmers (who were then, as at present, generally very indigent) from the oppressive burthen of supplying post and courier horses gratis for the use of the king and royal family. He took an exact census of the people; and used his utmost efforts to increase the population of Sweden, by encouraging strangers, particularly mechanics, and artists in metal, to settle in his kingdom; and by striving to induce those Swedes to return, who had already emigrated to foreign lands.

So accomplished a gentleman was Gustavus, that there was scarcely a professor of literature, or any of the liberal or elegant arts, but he was able to excel, each in his own peculiar study. He was spoken of as a prodigy of talent; a Mæcenas in liberality: which, joined to the magnificence of his court, attracted crowds of painters, poets, musicians, theatrical dressers, dancers, &c. Those who possessed very superior merit were retained; and all who greatly excelled, were munificently rewarded. In the distribution of his patronage, he betrayed the selfishness of his motives: he spared no expense to gratify his love of pageantry: the superb spectacles with which he treated the inhabitants of Stockholm, served to ingratiate him with the most elegant of

the fair sex, as well as the vulgar populace. It also attracted public attention from the silent but rapid progress he was making towards the establishment of a monarchical despotism. Nor was he ignorant that from his own superior taste and matchless elegance, he should be looked upon as the great presiding genius that gave the first design, and the last finish, to every thing that was superlatively excellent. Whilst the treasures wrung from an indigent nation were thus profusely lavished on the votaries of the fine arts, few indeed were the geometricians, astronomers, chemists, mineralogists, or engineers, whom he liberally encouraged. His court was filled with soft and effeminate courtiers, generally devoid of principle, whom he had selected and advanced, in many instances, from obscure stations. Gustavus was himself an elegant and witty dramatic writer. He would have made, perhaps, the best actor in Sweden, and incomparably the first of managers. He introduced and patronised the Swedish opera. The scenery was equal, if not superior, to any in Europe. It was designed and executed under his personal inspection; for he was competent to instruct the first masters. The dresses displayed equal taste and splendor: Gustavus drew designs for the costumes. Before his classic eye, all anomalies vanished: the actors and actresses became kings and queens. The dramatic amateurs of France and Italy, were forced to own that the elegance and grandeur of their

drama, was equalled, if not outdone, in a northern metropolis, where it was least to have been expected. If any stranger had seen the king engaged with theatrical dancers, singers, and dressers, he would have thought the king was so absorbed by those pursuits, he could have neither time nor inclination for higher objects. After instructing the performers, Gustavus would return to his palace, perhaps, to meet an archbishop, and confer concerning a new version of the bible; to receive an engineer, relative to the works at Carlscrona, Sveaborg, or Trollhätta; to discourse with and encourage manufacturers of the coarsest and the finest wares, who generally went away pleased and astonished at a man that seemed to understand the secrets of their trade equally well with themselves, and able to elucidate the most abstruse points of every subject that was connected with their various occupations. He studied the prejudices of the peasantry of every province: and when any one felt himself deeply injured by the judges or officers of the crown, if the individual repaired to court, the king would patiently listen to his complaint; and if Gustavus saw he was likely to gain great applause, he seldom hesitated to dismiss a judge or an officer for whom he cared but little; or against whom he might entertain a private pique.

Gustavus would often assist in person at the academy of sciences: on which occasions he threw into his manners so great a degree of deference and

gravity that he appeared like a tyro receiving instruction from sage masters, rather than a sovereign: by this artful demeanor he ruled, as he pleased, the academy, of which he became the idol. To procure greater *eclat*, he often sent questions under a fictitious signature, that led to some new discovery in science, or improvement in agriculture.

The pedestrian bronze statue of Gustavus Vasa, the great founder of the Gustavian line; and the colossal equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus,* are monuments worthy of the heroes to whose glory they were consecrated, and of the magnificent prince in whose reign they were erected. They are equally fine as the statues of Charles the First

Archeveque did not live to finish this superb statue: it was completed by his great pupil, Sir John Tobias Sergel, K. P. S. This great favorite of the Swedes, is represented in complete armour, excepting the head, which is encircled with laurel; his right hand holds a truncheon pointing downwards; the king is gracefully seated on the horse (a likeness of his favorite charger), and the animal has great spirit. The following are the dimensions: height, from the bottom of the pedestal to the top of the hero's head, *forty feet;* from the bottom of the horse's feet to the top of the hero's head, *eighteen feet;* height of the hero, if standing, *fourteen feet;* length of the horse, from the head to the crupper, *ten feet.* The pedestal, which is of marble, laid on blocks of grey polished granite, is ornamented with medallions of his favorite generals." Vide Mr. Coxe, Vol. 4. p. 73. In a note to p. 70, is a quotation from the *Voyage de deux François*, wherein mention is made of a statue of Gustavus's minister, Oxenstjern, of *nine* feet high, placed under the equestrian hero. *It has never been cast!* This glaring blunder has been since copied by Sir John Carr, who, having seen this noble work of art, ought to have avoided a mistake so obvious.

and James the Second, in London. The king himself furnished the design for the medal struck in memory of Sir Charles Linné: on one side was the bust of that great naturalist; on the obverse, a figure of Cybele, in a mournful attitude, surrounded by attributes of the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdom: the inscriptions, "*Deam luctus angit amissi;*"—and on the exergue, "*Post Obitum*, a. d. January, 1778. *Rege Jubente.*" Gustavus attended the next meeting of the academy of sciences; in which the eloquent and graceful king delivered an impressive oration in commemoration of the illustrious dead. In a speech from the throne, addressed to the diet of 1778, he lamented the irreparable loss that Sweden had recently sustained: yet this same monarch suffered the Linnæan collection to be purchased by a private foreigner, and taken to England! Gustavus could have prevented the sale of that invaluable and national treasure, if he had pleased; and the irreparable loss sustained by Sweden, is alone imputable to his neglect, if not to his parsimony and indifference, as to matters of scientific pursuit.

As soon as he began to reign, Gustavus commenced embellishing his metropolis: and if he had lived to complete the edifices planned by himself and his favorite architect Desprez, he might have rendered Stockholm equal to Petersburg in magnificence; and far superior, as to the classical chastity and elegance of the architectural decorations: but his unfortunate subjects, whose property,

seized by rapacious tax-gatherers, paid for all these embellishments, would have been drained of their last dollar; and the laboring peasant, alike destitute of employment and food, have been left to perish of famine. Thus boundless was the love of magnificence in a callous, unfeeling prince, who preferred such costly gratifications to the prosperity of his people.

Fifty thousand dollars were expended on a tournament held in 1776, at the royal palace at Ekolsund.* It was as magnificent as regal wealth

* Ekolsund, or Ekholmsund, as it is sometimes spelt, is situated about forty-three miles north of Stockholm, on an arm of the great lake called Mälaren. It was for many centuries one of the crown estates, and a royal residence. The palace occasionally inhabited by Gustavus, was never finished. Its situation is most delightful; and its boundaries, in lakes, forests, and cultivated lands, included nearly, or quite, forty square miles. Being more than commonly pressed for money, Gustavus sold this fine estate to Sir Alexander S******, from whom it has descended to his heir at law, the present owner of that name, resident in North Britain.

To the antiquarian this is hallowed ground: a greater number of rude sepulchral monuments, called runic stones, mostly of a date more remote than the eleventh century, being seen here, and at Lislena, than perhaps at any other spot in Sweden. Two of those tomb-stones, of an unusually large size, and elaborately wrought, are set up, one on either side of the avenue leading from the main road to the palace. They are supposed to be extremely ancient, and are remarkably well wrought.

and exquisite taste could render it. In the character of a foreign knight, Gustavus affirmed "*That love is more lively and more permanent in the hearts of those that latest become subjected to its influence.*" It is almost superfluous to say, that the king was victorious: for what courtier would

The Sir Alexander S******, to whom Gustavus the Third alienated this fine estate, was a very singular character, whose life was marked by striking vicissitudes. He was by birth a North Briton, and was an elderly man at the time of the revolution of 1772. He acquired an ample fortune by commerce in Stockholm; but sudden and heavy losses falling upon him, he was ruined in every thing, except his character. As that was untainted, a few wealthy merchants subscribed a sum, that enabled him to begin the world anew. He was so prosperous, that he became richer than ever. As his years and wealth increased, he became so extremely penurious, as to begrudge himself the commonest necessaries of life. He was even in the habit of pilfering *sugar* and *biscuits* from the public coffee-houses he frequented; and perhaps, at his death, his greatest trouble was, that he could not take his adored riches with him to another world.

M. P. Hambré, Esq. a gentleman well-known in Stockholm, was in 1808, owner of the hotel in Paul's-gatan (street) that formerly belonged to the states general of Holland, and was inhabited by their minister at the court of Stockholm. This gentleman married a relation of Sir Alexander S******'s, and had the management of the estates of Ekolsund, by whom some of the preceding particulars were communicated to the author. Mr. Hambré was distinguished by talents, learning, and patriotism. The feudal system, to which he was an enemy, prevails at

dare to snatch the prize from his royal master's hand? But had they been ever so well inclined, it is exceedingly probable he would still have been the victor. The celebrated Major Muncke, whose name occurs in the secret history of the court of Denmark,* won the prize in the carousal.

the present day in Sweden, almost in the same degree that it did a century since in the Highlands of Scotland. Mr. Hambré released the numerous peasantry who lived on the lands of Ekolsund, from personal services, and letting the lands on the same kind of leases as in England, left the cultivator master of his time and resources.

The method of cultivating large estates in Sweden is, by letting portions of land to laboring farmers; giving them a certain quantity of seed-corn, and live and dead stock, the owner or occupier taking in return, on a limited number of days in the year, the labor of the farmer and all his family, horses, carts, &c. A mode that was objectionable in many ways, but principally because that the vassal was forced at all times to attend to his master's concerns, to the frequent injury, and even ruin of his own. Another method was to hire *stött drangarne, i. e.* victualled servants. Those are usually placed in a house by themselves; have a stated quantity of provisions given them; and a female drudge to cook their food. A third method is to employ *torparers, i. e.* villagers, to whom a small piece of land, a cow, and a fixed quantity of corn, &c. is given, exclusive of a small daily pay. The wages were low; but with all its defects, this mode secures the poor a decent subsistence; and is, therefore, worthy of consideration at a moment when so large a proportion of

* Vide p. 39 and 43.

Whilst Gustavus thus indulged his taste for excessive splendor; he endeavored to suppress, by sumptuary laws, that spirit of luxury, which, infecting the trading classes, called, as he thought, for the pruning knife. Instead of setting the example of economy and retrenchment, where the vice itself

the laborers in Great Britain and Ireland are suffering the extreme of want in the midst of surrounding plenty.

Some time subsequently, the owner of this vast estate, let the whole of it to a Scotch gentleman, named Dundas, who came with his wife and family to settle in this beautiful but secluded spot. Mr. Dundas was ennobled by Gustavus the Fourth,* Adolphus, in the spring of 1808: soon after which, unhappily for his future peace, he removed his family from Ekolsund, and returned to Scotland.

The system introduced by Mr. Hambré at Ekolsund, proved injurious to Mr. Dundas, who was looked on with envy both as a monopoliser of land, and a foreigner. And the peasants being released from annual servitude, went where they pleased to look for work, and he had very great difficulty in procuring a sufficient number of laborers, particularly in seed time and to get in his hay and corn harvests.

Mr. Dundas communicated to the author many interesting particulars respecting the vicinity of Ekolsund. The Mälaren, (the archipelago of Sweden,) extends from the island of Aland to Arboga; and is studded with

* To this unfortunate prince, the merit is due of having endeavoured to improve the condition of the peasants; and in all inclosures of *common pasture heaths*, he compelled the inclosers to allot a certain portion, *for ever*, to each cottage, which the wealthier proprietors were bound to enable the possessor to cultivate.

had originated, he taught the theory of economy, and persevered in the practice of all his former profusion! He introduced a national dress for each of the four orders of the state.* The court ladies in the new costume, were laughed at and lampooned: the Countess Höpken, one of the most beautiful and elegant women in Sweden, compared

innumerable islands, mostly covered with ever-greens, continually presenting objects really picturesque. Mr. D's opinion was, that the water had formerly flowed much higher than at present. He said that in rocks that are now clad with trees, and some distance from the Mählar, there have been found vast and massive iron staples and rings inserted, that appeared as if meant to serve as moorings to vessels. He also mentioned several cylindrical holes, excavated by the ancient inhabitants in the granite rocks; for which no specific use could be conjectured, except for grinding corn, before mills were invented.

The following anecdotes were related to the author, relative to Gustavus the Third and Ekolsund, viz.—

"As the king was giving directions to a favorite gardener, his majesty complained of the flowers being plucked and the grass plots tumbled; saying, 'You should keep the lacqueys and kitchen girls out of this garden, as they, I suppose, are the offenders.'—'Pardon me, gracious king,' said the gardener, 'those are not the guilty persons;' as I am able to keep *them* away myself.' Suspecting the truth, with a smile of good nature beaming on his expressive features, Gustavus said—'Well, if you think so, pray tell me whom do you suspect?'—'Your own gay courtiers, my king: it is the gallant knights and fair ladies, who are so fond of this retired

* It was partially in use in 1808.

them, decked in red ribbons and red trimmings, to *boiled lobsters!** This affair furnished Gustavus with employment for two or three years; which he might have accomplished in as many months, if he had begun by introducing retrenchment and economy into his own court.

At this period the citizens of Stockholm, as they took their breakfasts, frequently lamented the extravagant habits of their king, and foreboded bankruptcy and insurrection as the ultimate result. About noon, a royal page arrived with tickets, inviting the grumbling husbands, and their wives and daughters, to be present at some new and superb spectacle. In an instant, the females, all in extacy, lauded the fine spirit of their gallant and accomplished king! they must, to be sure, appear like somebody on

spot; and as long as your majesty's court remains here, the roses will be plucked, and the grass too much pressed.'

At the time of this festival, the queen, the duchess, and a number of the nobility, were in the drawing room, standing near the windows, when a huge elk, his lofty antlers borne high above the water, was seen swimming across the lake. The queen asked what it was, and some one said an elk, that had been hunted. When the young duchess, with a playful smile, said, "*Oh, no!* your majesty, *it is no elk,—it is Admiral* ———, *bathing!*—It may not, perhaps, be necessary to add, that the admiral alluded to, was generally considered as a notorious *cornuto.*

* Vide *Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden.*

such an occasion. Thus was extravagance and dissipation introduced into the bosom of private families, to the total exclusion of that frugality so strongly recommended. Gustavus knew the character of every person of any note in Stockholm; he studied that of their wives and daughters; and artfully paid particular attention to those females whose husbands and fathers were most averse to his erratic career: by which means, if he caused domestic dissension, he partially neutralised public discontent; having a great majority of the ladies always on his side! Such was the influence of his graceful demeanor, insinuating address, and almost magic eloquence, that it is not at all singular he should in a manner fascinate every person whose good will he was desirous of attaining.

His ardent mind and fertile genius acted as a perpetual impetus to things that were new, grand, and out of the common track: thence resulted a constant succession of magnificent fêtes, spectacles, ballets, tournaments, and national operas of the most splendid and imposing kind, the latter not unfrequently of his own composition.

It was really a calamity to mankind that this wonderful man was born the next heir to a throne. Had his station been less elevated, and his education equally good,—and if he had cultivated his genius with equal assiduity,—he might have formed a human prodigy, in genius, acquirements, and morals, equal to the ADMIRABLE CRICHTON!

But in the character and fate of this monarch, the well-known maxims are strongly exemplified, that an exalted station is not significant of happiness, nor always calculated to win the esteem of surrounding attendants; whilst, if the same individual had been born in a lower rank, all had been successful about him, and pleasant within him.

END OF VOL. I.

*Printed by S. Curtis, Camberwell Press.*

## ERRATA.

VOL. II.

Page 30—l. 11, n te, for molti *read* molto ; and for pola *r.* poco.
48—l. 10, fo: brage *r.* barge.
53—l. 10, for an offensive *r.* a defensive.
59—l. 13, for Swedish *r.* Russian.
463—l. 5, for kind *r.* king.
243—l. 2, for in power *r.* on Sergell.

THE

# NORTHERN COURTS;

CONTAINING

## Original Memoirs

OF THE

## SOVEREIGNS OF SWEDEN AND DENMARK,

SINCE 1766;

INCLUDING THE EXTRAORDINARY VICISSITUDES IN THE LIVES OF THE GRAND-CHILDREN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY MR. JOHN BROWN,

AUTHOR OF THE MYSTERIES OF NEUTRALIZATION; THE NAVAL ADVOCATE; AND OTHER TRACTS RELATIVE TO NEUTRAL FLAGS AND THE RIGHTS OF BELLIGERENTS.

VOL. II.

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# GUSTAVUS THE THIRD.

## CHAP. I.

*A journey to Petersburg.—Royal reconciliation.—Birth of an heir.—Melancholy catastrophe.—Popular discontent.—Degradation of the senate.—Northern confederacy.—Alliance with Denmark and Russia.—Gustavus travels to Spa.—Family discord, and family secrets.—Louisa Ulrica.—Her death, and character.—Catherine the Second.—Gustavus the Third.—Mutual hatred, and reciprocal duplicity.—Gustavus travels through Italy.—Some interesting particulars of his tour.—His magnificent collection of statues and paintings.—Returns by way of Paris.—Arrival of Gustavus at Stockholm.*

GUSTAVUS, in 1777, went on a visit to the court of Catherine. His reception was brilliant in the extreme. The maritime pretensions of Great Britain, and the final partition of Poland, are said to have formed a part of the political subjects discussed between the empress and king. The court of St. James's having offended this haughty prince, by not investing him with the Order of the Garter, to avenge the slight, he

placed a medallion, in bronze, of Prince Edward Stuart, opposite to his own in his *royal divan;* * and made very free with the character of George the Third. With all his polish, Gustavus could sometimes express himself in terms alike coarse and offensive.† It is by no means improbable that he was influenced by private pique, when, at a later period, he joined Catherine the Second, against Great Britain. In the month of August, Gustavus returned to Stockholm, in a very superb yacht, presented by the empress; and, as well as his courtiers, literally laden with rich and costly presents.

* A room so named in the west-front of the great palace at Stockholm.

† The first post-house south of Stockholm, is named Fittja,—a word that in the Swedish tongue has a double and risible signification. Gustavus the Third, even in the presence of his queen, his sister, and the first ladies of his court, used to amuse himself with strangers recently arrived, by asking them to pronounce the word Fittja, how they liked it, &c.; who frequently complied, saying they thought it a poor, insignificant, nasty, little place; at which he would laugh heartily, enjoying the blushes, and evident confusion of the females.

The amorous propensities of that elegant, handsome, accomplished courtier (Chevalier,) now Baron Adlercrantz, are well known in Sweden. In talents he approached the king: but as regarded females, no greater contrast in disposition could exist. When he was ennobled, and took the name *Adlercrantz*,—Gustavus, with more wit than delicacy, said,—"Adlercrantz! he should be named *Mousicrantz!*" Those who are conversant with the *Swenska Tala*, will have no difficulty in comprehending with what sort of a crown Gustavus would have decorated this accomplished knight.

The year 1777 was remarkable, in Swedish annals, by a reconciliation that took place between Gustavus the Third and his consort. From the period of their marriage in 1766, to this period, they had not lived together as man and wife. This event was distinguished by a grand festival; and the next year, by the pregnancy of the queen.* The king convened the states to meet in October; being

* The following extract from Mr. Ristel's work, with the original notes attached, will throw much light on the Secret History of the court of Gustavus at this period.

The limits of this memoir, that is intended rather to display the extraordinary qualities of Gustavus the Third, than to give a history of a reign that would fill a large volume;—forbids a detailed narration of the extraordinary circumstances already mentioned, connected with the birth of a son and heir in 1778, to the throne of Sweden. The reasons for doubting the legitimacy of this child, belonging rather to the life of his successor, Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, will be found in their proper place, in the historical sketch of that unfortunate and inglorious reign.——

"Next to the king, the queen is a worthy object of our attention. Among other eminent qualities of that princess, it is perhaps her first merit that she meddles not with politics: she is the king's wife, and nothing else. Sweden has had sufficient experience of the evils arising from female influence in political matters, and rejoices to see upon the throne a queen possessed of all the charms of her sex, and confining her ambition to the practice of its virtues.

"With all her accomplishments, she was not so happy at first as to captivate the inclination and confidence of her spouse, then crown prince of Sweden. Her countenance

anxious that the queen should be delivered during their sitting, that they might become the sponsors of a child born, as it were, under their own eyes.

The king opened the diet with a speech that was, as usual, marked by energy and elegance, both in its composition and delivery. " Notwith-

and manners, at her first arrival in that country, bore too visible marks of the constraint and severity of her education under the queen dowager of Denmark;* and the reception she met with from the queen of Sweden, her mother-in-law, was not at all encouraging. She had also about her person some Danish domestics, who, to have her entirely in their power, inspired her with continual fear and diffidence; which naturally caused a reserve and coldness in her behaviour, and totally removed the prince's affection.

" She led a very retired life as princess; but as soon as her husband had mounted the throne, and wished to see the court more frequented than it had been during the reign of his father, and had signified his desire to the queen that she should appear oftener in public, and receive the nobility into her company, she readily obeyed, and appeared as contented as the happiest queen in the world. She was the more a sufferer, as she really loved the king; but thinking herself slighted, pride would not permit her to betray the secret of her heart. She bore her disgrace with patience and resignation several years, until *an accident*† made her better known to her royal spouse, and caused a *perfect reconciliation*.‡

* Juliana Maria.

† It is not improbable, that Mr. Ristel, the author of the above work, was himself concerned in *arranging* this " *accident*."

‡ What a prostitution of language! Instead of being reconciled, their mutual hatred increased.

standing the necessities and expenses of the three preceding years, I have," said Gustavus, "been enabled by prudence and economy, to put the kingdom in a state of defence, and restore its ancient splendor, without exhausting the national finances:—I have, therefore, not called you toge-

"The king had made a voyage into Finland, and sent an express with letters to the royal family, to let them know of his safe arrival. As the express had orders to return as soon as possible, they would all write to the king by the return of the messenger; and the young duchess of Sudermania having finished her letter, she went to the queen to tell her that the courier grew impatient at waiting, as no one else dared to interrupt her majesty whilst she was writing. The queen had just finished, *and was going* to give her letter to the Danish gentlewoman to write it fair, as she ever used to do with all her letters; *but the duchess snatched it up and ran away with it, saying the king should owe great obligation to her, for having by her means, a letter written by the queen's own hand. She sealed it up with her own letter, and sent it away.* The king, who had never seen the queen's hand-writing before,* was surprised and highly charmed with the contents. There was a delicacy of sentiment, and a gentleness in the expressions, he had never found before in her letters. *He read it aloud to some of his favorites† with great satisfaction;* and having finished, he

* It is a very difficult task to fabricate a narration so skilfully that no glimpse of its spurious origin shall appear. How Mr. Ristel, an old experienced courtier, came to compromise his veracity in this manner, is difficult to surmise: he might almost as well have asserted, that the king had never seen the queen's face.

† Gustavus the Third was the first of actors, and he was too

ther to demand succours or subsidies, but merely to rejoice with me in the felicitous situation of my kingdom; and to be witnesses of my wife's delivery: and lastly, that I might discharge the promise given at the dissolution of the last diet.

asked *them* what *they* thought of the letter? "From the tender concern the queen expresses for my health and welfare," said he, "I should almost have the vanity to believe she loved me." *A young gentleman* present had the boldness to ask, if his majesty had *never* known that before? The king startled at the question, and answered with a *serious* look, that he had had so many proofs to the contrary, that he never could persuade himself she had for him any real affection. The gentleman answered, that if his majesty would permit him to reply, he dared to assert that all such ideas were fallacious, *and put forth by persons who had an interest in creating divisions in the royal family;* and upon the king's asking him how he could be *so certain* of the truth of his assertion, he frankly owned, that he was upon terms of the *greatest intimacy** with a lady who had a good share in the queen's confidence, and it was by that means he came by his knowledge of the queen's sentiments; and that it *now* depended upon the king to assure himself of their reality whenever he pleased. *The king, having a great opinion of the character of the gentleman* †, was almost persuaded; and in

good a judge to suffer any better company to witness this *rehearsal* of the first act of the *royal farce* then in agitation.

* It was adopting a singular way of supporting the *purity* of the queen's mind and conduct, for this young courtier to tell the king, her husband, that he had *an intrigue* with her chief female friend and confidant.

† No doubt he had: young Rosenstein, who was nephew to Count

I have also to entreat you to stand sponsors to the infant which I expect will shortly see the light; *—and if heaven should grant me an heir to my throne, may he be one day worthy to ascend the throne of Gustavus Vasa, and of Gustavus Adolphus! May*

*consequence*, he wrote a letter to the queen, full of the *warmest expressions* of esteem and friendship, assuring her, he should feel himself happy, if at his return he might be convinced of the reality of the sentiments expressed in her letter: in the mean time, he begged the favor of having another letter written by her own hand, that he might experience again the pleasure which the former had given him. The queen, agreeably surprised at *so unexpected** a change, answered according to the dictates of her heart; and when the king was expected home, she prepared a splendid feast for his return, and received him with that modest tenderness so flattering to its object.†

Hermansen,—whose political subserviency to the views of Gustavus the Third, opened his way to the first honors in the state,—had already received his lesson, and, like many others who had enjoyed the advantages of the king's tuition, he proved an apt scholar. His zeal and fidelity in aid of the king in this *delicate* piece of business, was afterwards rewarded, and amongst other means, by the appointment of literary preceptor to the *young prince*, for whose future being he was then arranging matters.

* Most absurd! The duchess of Sudermania (now queen of Sweden,) had previously instructed the queen what to write; and it is by no means improbable, that the same courier who returned with this *magical* letter that is said to have wrought such wonderful effects on the king, carried the *draught copy* to the duchess, written by the king's own hand.

† This *fiction* has been greatly embellished, and not unskilfully, in the *fabrication* called LETTERS OF THE SWEDISH COURT, p. 132, to the end, published about 1810 or 1811.

*he remember that it is the first duty of a Swedish king to love and honour a free people; and may the crown be no longer his than he shall act in conformity to this truth.* It would make me wretched if I believed my descendants likely to forget, that Providence, in placing them at the head of a

That very evening they came to an explanation, and were convinced of their former mistake of each other's sentiments;* the king re-conducted the queen to her apartments, and for a long time he had no other bed-chamber † than hers. The Danish gentlewoman, being convicted‡ of having *altered* the queen's letters, was dismissed from her service, and *sent out of the kingdom.* The young gentleman (Rosenstein), who had undertaken the *queen's defence,* was rewarded by *many rich presents* from her majesty;§ and the king, as well upon that consideration as in respect to his merit, has since raised his fortune in an eminent degree.

* There existed no such mistake: the king cherished an inextinguishable aversion *(for it lasted till his death)* against the queen.

† It should have been the *king's bed-chamber,* from which there was a *secret staircase* made that communicated with *Baron Armfeldt's* apartment, of which the king kept a key.

‡ It is not *impossible* but this Danish lady might have been guilty of this practice; if, however, the imminent risk she ran of being detected were duly considered, the charge must appear to the highest degree *improbable.* The truth is, this lady was bribed high enough to induce her to plead guilty, in order to give colour and consistency to this *extraordinary* reconciliation, and support the allegations of M. Rosenstein.

§ A little farther on, Mr. Ristel describes the queen as being of a penurious turn, *except* for the embellishment of her own person. What inconsistency!

great nation, has entrusted to their care the happiness of a free and generous people."—Within a couple of days after this speech, Sophia Magdalena was delivered of a male child, that was the first immediate heir to the throne, since Charles the Twelfth, who was born in Sweden. He was bap-

" *The unexpected harmony within the court very much puzzled some ladies and gentlemen, who had formerly taken the liberty to divert themselves at the queen's expense.* They would at first persuade themselves and others, that it was but *political* on the king's side; but *having tried his disposition,* and finding him serious, *they were quite out of countenance.* They now repaired to the court of the queen dowager,* whom they knew never loved the young queen, as having come into the family contrary to her advice. They *presumed* she would not be dissatisfied with hearing *reports* and *discourses* injurious to a person she disliked,† nor were they much mistaken in their conjectures. The palace of the queen dowager became the repository of all the calumnies *invented* against the young queen, and some were of a nature not to be suffered.‡ The queen dowager having *repeated* these accusations, they came to the knowledge of the young queen, *who*

* Mr. Ristel disgraced his character as a gentleman and a man of letters, by thus calumniating the memory of the greatest queen that ever sat on the throne of Sweden. Gustavus embittered the last hours of his mother's life, and hurried her by shame and grief to her tomb.

† The focus of the conspiracy was the *king's palace;* and probably it was one of his instruments whose pen thus attempts to degrade the fame of Louisa Ulrica.

‡ This report was neither more nor less than a plain statement of the adulterous connexion, which was supposed to subsist between her majesty and Count Muncke!

tised with all possible pomp and ceremony, in the royal chapel of the great palace of Stockholm, by the archbishop of Upsala; and in the presence of a deputation from the four states of Sweden, who appeared as sponsors; by whom he was named Gustavus Adolphus.

*losing all patience,* went *directly* to the king,* and told him she had long been a sufferer in Sweden from the queen dowager's *ill humour* and *persecution,* and had *never* made any complaint, but when *her honor* † was attacked she could bear it no longer; that it was his majesty's duty, as a king and a husband, to protect her from such a treatment; and the satisfaction that she required was, that the queen dowager should either disown that *injurious slander,* or *name* the person from whom she had her information.‡ The king was *very unwilling* to enter upon *such an explication* with his mother, § but as she *could not refuse* that justice to his spouse, he made a visit to the queen dowager on that account, and ordered

* A very proper line of conduct! The king had been her seducer; he was no more her husband; he led an abler one to her arms: he wished her to be pregnant, and she was so. Her character was singed, and he that caused it to be put in jeopardy was bound to defend it: a task that was neither very light nor pleasant.

† These expressions indicate, whatever the feelings of the queen dowager might be respecting the reigning queen, that up to this period her *virtue* had not been questioned.

‡ The motive by which the *royal confederates* were animated to effect this discovery, was of the most powerful nature. If the conspiracy had been discovered, and its ramifications laid open to the world, every party implicated would have been overwhelmed with infamy and ruin; the throne would have been shaken, and the fame of the king for ever blasted.

§ There is no reason to doubt the truth of *this* assertion.

The public feeling, on the birth of this prince, was manifest in the almost endless variety of ways by which this event was celebrated. The secret agents of the king, were, however, so very active in devising means of giving it *eclat*, that it is dif-

some of the senators to be present.* He told his mother plainly what was the matter, and asked her if she had really been capable of such injurious discourse respecting her daughter-in-law? The queen dowager owned she could not deny that she had dropped some words on that subject, *but only within her own family*,† and she thought a mother might speak in confidence to her children, without fear of its being reported and *misconstrued* into a calumny. The king then asked who had made such a report to her? She answered, that though she had been betrayed herself, it was too much below her dignity and principles to betray others; but, for her own part, she would make all the reparation that could be required from a queen and a mother; and therefore assured him *that she never believed the reports*,‡ that she had only mentioned them by way of jest,§ and that with persons from whom she could have no apprehension of its being divulged. The king *could not urge* any further satisfaction, and a good intelligence seemed to be fully restored, until the birth of the prince, afterwards Gustavus|| the Fourth.

* The *senators* whom the king selected were his abject creatures; nor would he have taken them, had not the rumours that were already afloat cast reflections on the *legitimacy* of the child of which the queen was then pregnant.

† The queen dowager mentioned her suspicions to her youngest son, and to the princess Albertina, her daughter.

‡ Totally false!

§ False and malicious.

|| Mr. Ristel contradicts himself! That author says this second rupture took place on the birth-day of the princess royal (see p. 60):

ficult to distinguish between that which was the result of affection, and of secret influence.

This birth, that was considered so auspicious for Sweden, proved the source of a dreadful catastrophe in Stockholm, whereby a hundred persons miserably perished. A sad prelude to the

Adolphus, when an unhappy mistake occasioned a new rupture, which lasted during the queen dowager's whole life.

" I call it a *mistake,* because I have been assured by a person *who knew all the secrets** of the queen dowager, that on this occasion she was really misunderstood. It was so far from her intention to disturb the universal joy on that happy occasion, that she had prepared a rich present for her grandson ;† she had Marshal Piper and his lady with her very late that night; and on the *joyful occasion* they had emptied *several bottles of champaign* together ;‡

perhaps he meant the birth-day of the prince royal, afterwards Gustavus the Fourth, Adolphus.

* The queen dowager was not a likely person to intrust *all her secrets* to any *one* person. Mr. Ristel had recourse to this base assertion to obtain credence for the scandalous stories he was about publishing respecting the queen dowager's getting tipsey

† An unqualified falsehood.

‡ Whether true or false, this paragraph is equally disgraceful to Mr. Ristel; but there is every reason to believe it was alike false and malignant. The author makes it out that the queen dowager and her guests got *famously drunk* with champaign, and being " *overtaken by sleep,* they *retired to bed.*" Did he mean that they *all three* went to one bed? And *how* did they get there after *sleep had* overtaken them? Does he mean that they were carried away drunk to their beds?

If my readers please to refer to the LETTERS *of the* SWEDISH COURT, pp. 204 and 205, they will perceive that the *transcriber*

greater calamities he was destined by his future reign to entail on his country. Exclusive of brilliant illuminations, and fountains of wine, the king had triumphal cars constructed, in imitation of those of ancient Rome, to parade the principal streets of Stockholm, in which were placed young

but being at last overtaken by sleep, they had retired to bed; and the queen dowager was *slumbering*, when a letter was brought from the king,* in which he notified the *birth of his son*, and expressed his wishes '*that his mother might not fail* partaking of his joy.' The queen, *half sleeping*, wrote an answer, in which she *congratulated* the king on the birth of his son;† but taking his wish for a kind of doubt, she could not help adding—'*that if a veil yet* covered his eyes, *she hoped he would once better know her sentiments towards him.*'‡ Several persons surrounded the king when he opened the letter,‖ and these last words having been *misunderstood*, or perhaps

has softened down the coarseness and improbability of Mr. Ristel's *several bottles*, and limited the number to *two or three*. This is the most atrocious calumny from Mr. Ristel's pen.

* This letter contained an ambiguous sort of request:—"Whatever may be your majesty's feelings," said the king, "out of regard to mine, I hope you will not fail to join your congratulations to those of every other branch of my family."

† The preceding note explains the rest of that sentence.

‡ The queen, in her reply, is stated to have expressed her surprise at his majesty's request; that she thought he had obtained more *lenity* than he merited; and although a veil might for a time cover the transaction, yet, sooner or later, *it would be removed.*

‖ What a picture is here given of this celebrated monarch; it certainly must be a *caricature*, and not a faithful delineation of his manners and style of living with his courtiers.

and beautiful females, dressed *en costume*, as goddesses of plenty; whose fair hands scattered as they passed, money and sweetmeats amongst the delighted multitude. There was also a large building erected, that was amply supplied with provisions of a substantial kind, with liquors,

misrepresented by some secret enemy of the royal family, *caused a universal consternation.**

"Those who had seen the letter thought it yet *worse* than *any misconstruction* could make it;† and every one being eager to show his zeal upon the occasion, the queen dowager was talked of *with horror;*‡ insomuch that the king was induced to send her a message (stating) that his *anxiousness for her safety* obliged him to give her notice *that he could not answer for the effects of his people's resentment*, if she should venture to appear in public.§ The queen dowager so little thought of having done any harm, that she had ordered her coach to be in readiness, and was already on the way to the royal palace, when she received the king's message.‖ She at first was at a loss

* What is there in the silly and unmeaning passages marked in italics by Mr. Ristel, that even amongst *painted and scented courtiers*, could have excited such sensations? It is evident from Mr. Ristel's own language, he had not told the truth.

† These expressions confirm the justice of the preceding observations.

‡ Because she had used such expressions as Mr. Ristel has given us! absurd and improbable!

§ From the period that Gustavus the Third abandoned himself to such disgraceful proceedings, the queen dowager totally abstained from her son's court; and this is the mode in which Mr. Ristel thought proper to account for the future seclusion of that illustrious woman.

‖ Can it be believed, instead of the king assuring his mother that he would provide for her protection, he really sent her such a mes-

and bands of music. Such was the rush made by infatuated rabble to obtain a share of those tempting viands, that the guards proved unable to keep them off. There were, most improperly, some *small steps* left at the entrance; which caused several persons to stumble, who immediately dis-

how to understand such a warning; but matters having been explained to her, she had too much pride to condescend to a justification,* and therefore returned to her *dwelling-house*, and never after saw the king or her grandson till a few days before her death.

"The young queen soon recovered, and appeared in public amidst the most joyful acclamations of the people.† *Adored* by her subjects, she consoled herself for being hated by her mother-in-law.

"Two years after, she had another son, who seemed very strong and healthy, but died in cutting his teeth.‡ The death of this prince put the physicians in perfect *discredit* with the king, and he has never since suffered any of the faculty about his person. He had been present at their consultations, and found that what they agreed on when together, *each* of them condemned§ when separately

sage? The assertion is totally false that the queen dowager was upon the road to Stockholm, travelling to court to congratulate her son upon the birth of a prince; nor is it likely that her life was in danger: and it is no less improbable that the king sent any such coarse message to her.

* Altogether a fiction.

† Persons were employed by the police for this purpose.

‡ This child was also Count Munck's.

§ This is rather more humorous than credible. Could Mr. Ristel expect his readers to believe that the physician who *actually* proposed the specific prescription in a consultation, afterwards found fault to the king with his own remedy?

appeared, and never rose again. They were not only trampled to death, but almost to pieces. Yet, such was the rage to obtain admission, that the dead and dying were passed over, and the crowd within continued their feasting, revelry, and dancing, till six o'clock the next morning.

consulted, and proposed his own method. He is now (1789) attended by two surgeons, one of whom had the good luck to be at hand when the king broke his arm, as he was going to meet the empress of Russia at Frederickshamn, and has ever since been in credit. The university of Upsal has, by way of courtesy, decorated both those gentlemen with the title of Doctor of Physic, though neither of them were bred up to that science.*

" The queen of Sweden is fond of magnificence in her apparel, and has spent much money in jewels; but she otherwise observes a *very strict economy;* and except what she gives yearly to the poor, and *pensions* paid to a couple of ladies who make her daily company, there are few persons who ever had *any proof of her generosity.* Those two ladies had formerly been her maids of honor, and since their marriage have continued their attendance and preserved the favor of the queen *by telling her the news of the day,* and *complimenting* her on her *beauty, elegant* shape, *exquisite* taste in dressing, &c.; thus women of the highest rank, and possessing the *most eminent* qualities, are equally subject as others to the *passions* of their sex."†

* Mr. Ristel has, in many instances, indulged his vein for satire at the expense of his veracity: perhaps he did so in this instance.

† Mr. Ristel ends his adulatory and false narration of the wondrous virtues and endowments of this queen, by describing her as a woman without any power of mind, or delicacy of sentiment!

At first the minister of police, rather than damp the public *joy*, thought proper to conceal the calamity as far as he could; but the number of those who fell, and the fury of the mob, became so great, he was forced to send for more soldiers; and it was not without the use of violence, and very imminent danger of causing an insurrection, that the crowd was ultimately dispersed.

The next morning the temple of pleasure was converted into the house of mourning. As the parents, brothers, children, or friends sought for and found their relatives amongst the dead, heart piercing shrieks, and doleful lamentations succeeded the shouts of temporary madness and intoxication. And as the mangled bodies of the dead were carried off, the air resounded with the melancholy cries of the living. The king, in whose culpable eagerness to give *eclat* to the birth of the young Gustavus the calamity originated; appeared, and probably was, greatly grieved at this deplorable accident. He severely reprimanded the governor of Stockholm, for not having adopted precautions to prevent such an occurrence. The governor, who had reluctantly obeyed the order that commanded him to prepare this feast for a drunken populace, said in reply,—"Sire, it is the first time I ever had the honor of entertaining a mob. I had no idea of any such calamity. On a future occasion, I shall know better what precautions to adopt."

A free gift of six hundred thousand dollars, was granted by the diet to the king, payable in

seven years; of which three hundred thousand were allotted for the better support of the regal dignity, and the increase of the king's private revenue. One hundred thousand dollars were to be divided in equal shares; one moiety to be given to the Duke of Sodermanland, the other to be applied in defraying the expense of baptising the young crown prince; a hundred thousand dollars were to be presented to the queen as a free gift; and one hundred thousand dollars as a dowry for the Duchess of Sodermanland. The king, on the 25th of January 1779, closed the diet with a speech, alike eloquent and impressive, in which he boasted of being the only king, during that century, who could dissolve the free states without having exercised or suffered oppression! He arrogated the august title of founder and defender of the laws and liberty of his country; thanked the diet for their personal attachment to himself, his queen, and *his son*; "whom," said the graceful orator, "I hope to live to see worthy the illustrious name he bears."

The thinking part of the Swedes, were not deceived by the specious illusions that teemed in the flowery speeches of their king. This diet was considered as being no less influenced by the crown, than former diets had been by the oligarchy. *The king,* as well as *the crown,* was involved in debt; and without further grants it was scarcely possible Gustavus could have long continued his splendid career. The pregnancy of

the queen, and her giving birth to a son, were contingencies alike advantageous in a pecuniary, as well as a political point of view.

The deputies from the peasantry returned to their homes, fraught with angry feelings towards the king, from whom they could not procure the revocation of the prohibition of private stills; and soon afterwards were heard murmurs, loud and deep, prevailing amongst the agriculturists, in all quarters of the kingdom. In Smaland and Dalcarlia, the indignation of the populace was not confined to complaints and reproaches alone, but burst forth in acts of resistance to the king's authority. Nor was the personal character of the king spared: he was held up as a monster of dissimulation; as a being, tainted by propensities of the most abhorrent kind: and doubts were expressed as to the legitimacy of the child then recently born. The printer of a pasquinade, affecting the king's character, was condemned to confinement on bread and water. The senate, which was filled by the creatures of Gustavus, thought proper, in their overflow of loyalty, to change the sentence to that of *death!* The king had the credit of pardoning the offender: the servile senators incurred the odium of meditating a judicial murder, to shew their devotion to the crown! Gustavus took care to *degrade* that heretofore great and formidable body, previous to effecting their entire abolition.

The war in which Great Britain was plunged

with her American colonies, was followed by the secret or open hostility of all Europe. The merchants of Sweden, in common with those of Holland and Denmark, derived immense advantages from supplying the revolted colonists with contraband warlike stores. Their ships thus employed were captured by British cruizers. The Swedish merchants complained of those captures to their government, terming them acts of piracy, and asking for convoys to protect their trade. The right of search, of the seizure of contraband cargoes, and of blockade, were denied by a host of powerful writers, whom this great question produced in every maritime state, and particularly in Holland and Sweden. Influenced no less by personal feelings than political considerations, the king eagerly caught at this bias of the public feeling to restore his waning popularity, and became the soul as it were of an armed neutrality of the north, and advocate for *the liberty of the seas!* Catherine encouraged Sweden and Denmark to proceed to extremities; secretly pleased to see those naval states brave the power of the British navy. If their extraordinary league had led to a naval campaign in the Baltic, there is scarcely room to doubt, but she would have screened her own fleets, and left those of Sweden and Denmark to have met that destruction that would certainly have ensued: by means of which, at no very distant day, she hoped to acquire the undivided sovereignty of the Baltic.

The treaty of alliance between Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, was signed on the 9th of June 1780. According to the letter of the treaty, Russia was to fit out twenty sail of the line; Sweden and Denmark each sixteen. The emperor of Germany, the kings of Prussia and Naples, the republic of Holland, afterwards acceded to the principle professed by this treaty, which went to establish the freedom of the seas, to abrogate the right of search, and to declare the ship and flag should protect the cargo. These doctrines, if carried into practice, would soon have undermined and annihilated the naval power of Great Britain. The way in which this formidable confederacy broke up is explained in a preceding chapter. It promised every thing; and performed none of its promises.

Gustavus the Third being desirous of visiting Aix la Chapelle and Spa, spent part of the summer of 1781 in foreign travels; returning to Sweden through Holland, in the autumn of that year. In 1782, his queen proved pregnant. The birth of the first child put a final end to all amicable intercourse between Sophia Magdalena, and Louisa Ulrica. Those common-place feuds, from which few families are wholly exempt, are unfit subjects for the historic pen; but this was of a deeper kind. There exists unquestionable evidence, to prove that that great and virtuous woman never recognised Gustavus Adolphus as her grandson, nor ever felt or expressed any affection towards him. She

certainly suspected the queen; the effects of which fell heavily on her future peace, and banished her from that court over which, for so many years she had presided with matchless dignity and taste.*

Sir John Carr, gives the following anecdote of this great woman, which he probably found in the pages of Mr. Ristel's entertaining work, viz.

"This prince" (Gustavus the Third) "derived what hereditary talent he possessed from his mother Ulrica, who, by a capacious and highly cultivated mind, proved that she was worthy of being the sister of Frederick the Great. Her marriage with Adolphus Frederick was the fruit of her own unassisted address, which, as it has some *novelty*, I shall relate. The court and senate of Sweden sent an ambassador *incognito* to Berlin, to watch and report upon the character and dispositions of Frederick's two unmarried daughters, Ulrica and Amelia, the former of whom had the reputation of being very haughty, crafty, satirical, and malicious; and the Swedish court had already pretty nearly determined in favor of Amelia, who was remarkable for the *attraction* of her person, and the *sweetness* of her mind. The mission of the ambassador was soon buzzed *abroad*," (yet he was *incognito!*) "and Amelia was overwhelmed with misery on account of her insuperable objection to renounce the tenets of Calvin for those of Luther: in this state of wretchedness, she implored the assistance of her sister's counsels to prevent an union so repugnant to her happiness. The wary Ulrica advised her to assume the most *insolent* and *repulsive deportment* to every one in the presence of the Swedish ambassador; which advice she followed, whilst Ulrica put on all those amiable qualities, which her sister had provisionally laid aside. Every one ignorant of the cause *was* astonished at the change. The

Her absence left her character open to foreign and domestic misrepresentations: * and many strangers of rank and importance, whose respect she merited and would have enjoyed, if their minds had not been improperly prejudiced against her, quitted Sweden with very unfavorable impressions, which soon became current in their respective countries.

ambassador informed his court, that fame had completely mistaken the two sisters, and had actually reversed their reciprocal good or bad qualities. Ulrica was ultimately preferred, and *mounted* the throne of Sweden, to the no little mortification of Amelia, who, *too late,* discovered the stratagem of her sister and adviser."—Vide *Northern Summer,* pp. 123, 124.

This quotation is made to show its malice rather than its wit. In the first place, the thing appears absurd and improbable: in the second, if Amelia's objections were really scruples of conscience, how came she to repine? As to its *novelty,* this tale had been before the world ere Sir John Carr was born! It was also related by the Mr. RISTEL, so frequently quoted, who was a wilful traducer of Louisa Ulrica. Lastly: although it cannot be expected that so rapid a tourist should fill a quarto with original matter, he might avoid disgrace, by owning the authorities whence his quotations were derived.

* Deceived and misled by the suavity and polish of the king's manners, and flattered by those little attentions so gratifying to the mind of a scholar and a gentleman, Mr. Coxe gave the following character of Louisa Ulrica; *i. e.* "The queen dowager, to whom we were presented at her" (town) "palace of Frederickshof, is Louisa Ulrica, sister to Frederick the second, king of Prussia; a princess who resembled her brother, as well in countenance, as in those eminent abilities which characterise the house of Brandenburgh. An unfortunate misunderstanding had, for some time, taken place between her and her son, the king of Sweden. It was chiefly occasioned

Accompanied by her grateful and affectionate daughter, Sophia Albertina, she retired to the palace of Swartsjö. The shock her feelings sustained from the depravity of Gustavus, and the disgusting extremes to which his vices led him, shortened a life that might otherwise have been prolonged several years; and the intelligence of the queen's second pregnancy filling her indignant bosom with new sorrows, she died* a few

by the ambitious views of the queen dowager, who, accustomed *to rule the cabinet with absolute authority* in the reign of her husband, expected to retain the same influence over her son. But the monarch who had emancipated himself from the shackles of an aristocracy, had too much spirit to be governed by a woman; and the disappointment of her views drew from her frequent remonstrances, which, *joined to circumstances of too delicate a nature to be publicly mentioned*, terminated at length in an open rupture." Vide Coxe's Travels, vol. 4. pp. 39 and 40.—This DELICATE AFFAIR, was no other than her disbelief in the legitimacy of the young prince!—which circumstance, and not the *ambition* of Louisa Ulrica, was the cause of the rupture alluded to.

* Many precious monuments of her science, taste, and magnificence, remained at Drottningholm in 1808. The library, and the museums it contained, had the latter not been removed by Gustavus the fourth, Adolphus, would alone have proclaimed the greatness of her mind. Amongst the most interesting of the books, are the works of Voltaire, in nine volumes, published at Dresden in 1748, and presented by the author to Louisa Ulrica. These volumes are enriched with very numerous notes, in the hand-writing of the author, containing a large fund of curious inteligence not to be found elsewhere. In the library was a marble bust of Louisa Ulrica, large as life, wrought by the matchless hand of Sergel; and many portraits taken at different periods of her life.

weeks previous to the birth of the second child of Sophia Magdalena.

Those restless, high-spirited, yet rude and prejudiced people, the Dalecarlians, bore with sullen reluctance the prohibition of distilling brandy. In 1783, they broke out in acts of violence: a body of soldiers suppressed the riot, and seized the principal ring-leaders: yet, though menaced with a general revolt, for the sake of the revenue afforded by this odious and unpopular monopoly, Gustavus still persevered in its enactment.

The naval and military power of Sweden was not yet sufficiently matured, or he would, no doubt, have availed himself of the intention of Catherine to employ her armies against the Turks, to have made a dash at Petersburg. Catherine was, however, very suspicious of Gustavus. It was

Her father was Frederick William the *first* king of Prussia; her mother, Sophia Charlotte, was the daughter of the lovely and unfortunate Sophia Dorothea, the wife of the electoral prince of Hanover, afterwards George the First, and sister to George the second: she was married to Adolf Frederick, the crown prince of Sweden, afterwards king, 18th of August 1744; crowned the 26th of November 1751; and died, in the 62nd year of her age, on the 16th July 1782.

Louisa Ulrica, "lived beloved, and died lamented." The Swedes are almost a nation of poets. The elegies written on account of her death were greater in number, and superior in quality, to what had been known on any former death of a Swedish queen. The beautiful ode written by the elegant poet ADLERCRANTZ, gained the gold medal given by the royal academy; and certainly it well deserved the distinction.

essential she should, if possible, be well assured of his designs, whose fleet and army were really formidable, if united in an attack on a single point of an extended frontier. She knew the king was venal; and might be subsidised by the Porte, or the court of Versailles. She therefore proposed an interview to take place at Frederickshamn. The king acceded to her request. In the beginning of June, he set out for Finland. At a review of his troops, his charger startled, threw the king, and broke his arm. Though unavoidably retarded by this accident, he was able to meet the empress on the 29th. With a view to astonish and gratify Gustavus, with whose fondness of splendor she was well acquainted, Catherine caused a temporary palace to be prepared in Petersburg, the frame and furniture of which were transported by water. The apartments were numerous, most elegantly designed, and magnificently furnished : and so secretly and expeditiously was it set up, that Gustavus had not, or pretended not to have had, any intimation of what was intended, till he was ushered into a magnificent saloon by Catherine in person. During the three days that those extraordinary personages remained at Frederickshamn, their time was diverted by French plays, and by a constant succession of the most brilliant and costly festivities. It was asserted at the time, that Catherine gave Gustavus, as a personal present, or rather *as a bribe*, a million of dollars; and pledged her imperial

word not to foment internal troubles in Sweden or Finland, if he would abstain from all hostility, open or covert, against her interests. Never, perhaps, did a couple of monarchs meet, whose mutual hatred was more inveterate: but the empress found it convenient to appear as if she had forgotten that Gustavus had called her a —— and an adultress; and the polite Gustavus, forgiving the odious epithet of a ——, and appearing to forget the "*amateur actor*," and "*little king*," paid Catherine the most flattering and profound homage! Never did a pair of greater dissemblers meet; and never was the parting of the dearest friends marked by stronger exterior signs of mutual affection and esteem! The interview answered the purpose of the empress and the king. Gustavus recruited his private exchequer; and Catherine, secured from attack on the side of Sweden, was left at liberty to pursue her ambitious designs against the Ottoman empire. The burgers of Stockholm, who were attached to the king by the splendor that consumed their property, paid him a flattering compliment on his return, by a grant of £1000, for the support of some additional beds in the royal hospital, called the *Loulais*,* where patients with fractured or broken arms were to be received.

Various motives have been assigned for the king's journey into Italy, none of which were

* The camp in Finland, where the accident happened, was so called.

perhaps correct, and some were of too infamous a nature to be recited. Although he was not generous, his profusion was boundless when his passion for the magnificent was to be gratified; and the specie drained from Sweden, and left in the countries he visited, was severely felt in the course of exchange on his kingdom. In Stockholm, Gustavus was a rigid Lutheran. At Rome, he attended high mass; and his devotion induced the commonalty to believe he was in his heart a *staunch Catholic!* Amongst his favorite courtiers he laughed at Lutherans and Catholics. During this tour on classic ground, Gustavus purchased, and transported to Sweden, some of the finest specimens extant of Grecian sculpture.* Amongst the many ancient statues, that of Endymion, as large as life, in a recumbent posture, is the most exquisitely beautiful. It is one of the *chef d'œuvres* of the Grecian school, in the meridian of its fame. Gustavus paid two thousand ducats for this fine relic of the matchless genius of the great Grecian sculptor.† These costly purchases were made to furnish a chaste and select gallery of antiques, with which he intended to embellish the stupendous

* Sir John Carr asserts, that when he was in Sweden (1804), five hundred pieces of painting and statuary had arrived at Stockholm from Italy, that had been purchased by Gustavus the Third.

† The author was assured in Stockholm, by two professors of the Swedish academy of painting and sculpture (Templeman and Piper), that Buonaparte offered Gustavus the Fourth, 300,000 livres for this statue alone.

palace that he had already designed, modelled, and intended to erect in the park at Lille Haga.

So fine was his taste, ere he set out on this tour, and so highly polished were his manners, he was more likely to serve as a model to others, than to copy from them. Nor was there any fear that his morals should suffer; for there was scarcely a vice practised by the great in southern climes of which he was guiltless. Gustavus passed the winter of 1783, and the ensuing spring, in Italy.* He visited Pisa (where he used the baths); Rome,† Naples, Florence, Genoa,

* The massive portico and vast fluted columns at the mint, were copied from a temple discovered at Pestum in Calabria. The Museum in the great palace, in 1808, contained a magnificent collection of marbles, far surpassing any thing of the kind in this kingdom: of which no adequate description has yet been given by any English traveller. Sir Robert Ker Porter was the gentleman from whose pen it might have been expected.

† In the Opera-house is an immense and good historical painting, probably by Desprez, representing a procession in Rome, wherein the reigning Pope and Gustavus the Third, form the principal figures. There was also preserved the *Diploma* whereby Gustavus the Third, during his stay at Rome, became a member of the academy of sciences; and also a book, printed in *fifty-six languages*, at Rome, by the society *propaganda fide*.

The magnificent library at Drottningholm, has the following verses inscribed over the entrance to the room appropriated to Italian subjects; namely,

"Om Rom har kungar sett ur Nordens kalla rike,
Som gjutit forssar blod, som krossar all dess magt,
Det ser ur samma land i dag, Augusti like
Ge vittra konster lif, och snillen eld och mod."

and Venice. The luxury, refinement, polished manners, and elevation of mind, that distinguished this modern king of the Goths and Vandals, at first astonished and delighted the Italians. They saw, however, nothing in him to love or revere. Mere admiration soon dwindled into indifference: a certain *halo* surrounded and tainted his name. The king became the subject of severe pasquinades.* On public occasions his magnificence eclipsed all competitors. In his private life, that economy which he practised to husband his resources for grand displays of pageantry, degenerated into meanness. Kings are rare customers: Gustavus found that one mode of shewing their *exalted* ideas of his riches and magnificence, was by charging him most exorbitantly. This justly offended him, and gave rise to almost perpetual bickerings during his extensive tour.† Gustavus received

*Free Translation.*

"From the cold regions of the north, if Rome has seen kings who shed the blood of her princes, and destroyed her power; to-day she beholds, from the same land, an AUGUSTUS,* that gives animation to genius, and energy and courage to the votaries of the fine arts."

It was reported in Sweden that these lines were originally written in Italian by CANOVA, the bosom friend and fellow student of the great Swedish sculptor SERGEL.

* One of these ran, in Italian, thus:

"Il il Conte di Haga,
Il chi molti vedi e pola paga:"—meaning,
That the Count of Haga would see every thing and pay nothing.

† The following extracts from the journal of a person

* Gustavus the Third.

presents of rare and valuable articles from most of the Italian courts. In return, he invested several persons with orders of knighthood that cost him little. In the beginning of June 1784, he arrived at Paris; where he was received with

in the suite of Gustavus the Third, during his Italian tour, were published to retort on Mr. Acerbi his complaints of Swedish inns, and Swedish travelling.

The work whence this extract was taken, entitled "*Briegen uber Schweden*," appeared to have been published in German, at Gripswalde, in 1804, and written by *Frederick Ruhs*. It was, however, generally believed by the *literati* in Stockholm, that Sir C. J. Leopold, who was called, from his peculiar fine vein of wit, the *Voltaire* of Sweden, was the writer; and by whom, in 1808, the offices of private secretary and librarian to Gustavus the Fourth, were filled. But that which induces the author to insert the extract here, is the assertion of an eminent member of the Swedish academies, who assured him, in 1808, that the extracts were written by Gustavus in his private journal.

"Between Helsingborg and Stockholm, a distance of "near 400 miles, *nothing* that can be considered as an inn "is to be met with: whereas, there is no *part of Italy*, where, "in the same space, you would not come to *fifty towns*, in "*neatness, and elegance, and every comfort of life, equal if* "*not superior to the capital of Sweden.* That in Italy, the "south perhaps excepted, it is impossible to travel twenty "miles without meeting with an inn; whilst there is not so "much as ONE *to be found* in Stockholm itself: that a *small* "*village* in Italy is *better provided* with all the necessaries "and conveniencies of life, than the most eminent provincial "towns in Sweden." Vide Acerbi, Vol. 1. p. 6.

all possible *eclat.* But nothing diverted this sagacious king from attending to matters of real business. The court of Versailles having neglected paying the stipulated subsidies, Gustavus managed matters so well that he obtained payment, and also the cession of the small West India island called St. Bartholomew, near Guadaloupe.

" *Can* Mr. Acerbi believe what he writes? Does he not perceive that fifty such cities as Stockholm, in a space of a little more than fifty Swedish miles,* in whatever age they were built, must inevitably consume all the produce of the land, and could not be subsisted. Does he believe that there is not a single soul alive in England, Sweden, or Germany, that has travelled in Italy? As he has taken the liberty to fabricate his journal in Sweden according to his own pleasure, he will allow a Swedish traveller the same indulgence to represent in its *true* colours the situation of his much boasted country, particularly so far as respects the stations (post-houses) inns, and especially the many famous cities, that for elegance, beauty, and every convenience of life, are equal if not superior to the very capital of Sweden!—See, here is a little extract from such a traveller's journal, for the accuracy of which I will be responsible. You will find, Sir, that the principal personage who made this tour, had more powerful claims to a distinguished reception in Italy than Mr. Acerbi could have in Sweden. This traveller was the COUNT of HAGA (Gustavus the Third). It is a distinguished person belonging to his avant attendants who the narrator."—

" At *St. Benedetto*, between Mantua and Modena,

* A mile Swedish, is rather more than six and a half English.

Having been entertained by the French court with every mark of personal respect, and treated with a constant succession of costly festivities and magnificent spectacles, Gustavus took his leave of the Bourbon princes, and arrived at Stockholm (after an absence of ten months) on the 3d of

there were no horses, although they had been previously ordered. We were therefore compelled to substitute *oxen*, and to put four pair to our carriages. The drivers walked by their side, and drove by their voice and a long stick (or goad), but *without reins*. The train marched so slow, that in *three hours* we made no more way than about six English miles. At *Nuovi*, the next post-house to St. Benedetto, a new source of delay arose from the want of horses. They arrived late at night; and by all sorts of pretences we were delayed till the next morning. Our former postillions were very ready to drive us, but they demanded four zechins (two pounds sterling) for a station of about ten English miles. The apartments in the inn were so bad that we found the coach preferable. A wretched, abominable, half-baked, dry wheaten loaf, a piece of cheese, and some eggs, were all we could get to eat. In *Carpi*, an episcopal city through which we passed, we breakfasted at the inn, and procured some bread, cheese, and a bottle of *sour* wine, which was too bad to drink: this sorry breakfast for three persons, cost [illegible] about ten shillings English).

[illegible] theatrical representation at Modena, was the [illegible] of the Sabines, and so very inferior I could not [illegible]dure it longer than during two scenes.

Between Modena and Bologna, we passed the Panaro: the ferry boat not being there, we were compelled

August 1784. Although his popularity had long been on the wane, the citizens of Stockholm, to compliment the king, commemorated his return from Italy,* by an inscription over the new bridge at Riddarholm, informing posterity, that they rebuilt a bridge of stone, in lieu of a former structure of wood.

to wade through the shallow stream; but the *passage money* was demanded just the same, and was paid as usual. This also happened in several other places.

" On the 22d December we stopped at an inn at Torrenieri, not far from Sienna. The passage or entrance to our room was so situated that we had to pass through the *stables*, a circumstance by no means uncommon in the public houses of this country. Our supper consisted of a soup not eatable, and chickens dressed in three different ways, namely, boiled, a la dàube, and roasted.

" At *Aquapedente*, a town in the ecclesiastical states, where through the want of horses we were obliged to wait *several hours*, they charged two sequins and a half (four or five and twenty shillings) for a few eggs, some slices of a Bologna sausage, and half a chicken.

* " Gustavo III. O. R. salvo et sospite.
Ex itinere Italico patriæ reddito.
Hunc pontem secto lapide constructum,
Lignei loco jam vetustate collabentis. Fo[illegible]
tunæ reduci et lætitiæ publicæ, decicarunt [illegible]
Cives Holmenses.—D. iii. Aug. M,DCC,L[illegible]

The expense of this tour was 50,000*l.*; but this extended [illegible] the travelling charges only. The king probably expended thr[illegible] times that sum; two thirds of which was applied to the purchase of works of art with which to embellish his residence.

During the three last years, Sweden had been afflicted by bad harvests, in consequence of which many persons perished of famine in their huts, and by the highway sides. This awful visitation did not induce the king in the least to abate his rage for splendid spectacles. His court was still the

" At *Monte Rossia*, the public room of the inn, had no door, the kitchen smoked to such a degree it was insupportable; and the other rooms not having glass or sash, were shut up with blinds, a custom very prevalent throughout the country. A wheel of the carriage being broke, we were forced to replace it with another, for which, though it was *a very old one*, we were made to pay six sequins into the bargain.

" The city of Velletri, in the ecclesiastical states, is tolerably large, but lonely and depopulated. The inn at which we lodged on the 29th of January, was most execrable: and as soon as a fire was lighted, was filled with smoke. Such was the night passed by Horace, when he made his tour into Campania. Sat. i. 5.

" Puzzuoli (the ancient Puteoli), near Naples, is a city whose inhabitants amount to some thousands, but it is ill built, small, and dirty. The walls at a distance appear as if the edifices had been destroyed by fire: an aspect which it has in common with most of the Italian small towns, which is produced by the flat roofs of the houses and the open apertures which supply the place of windows.

" Here, as in the generality of places in Italy, the extent of wretchedness and misery is denoted by the vast numbers of beggars.

" Not far from the well known ruins of Pestum, the Possidonium of the ancients, is *Eboli*, an inconsiderable

gay theatre where the utmost pomp was displayed, whilst the poor peasants, whose toil helped to supply the means of supporting his guilty splendor, were suffering, with their wretched families, the most terrible extremes of famine. When a starving popualation sent up from

Neapolitan city: a vile place. Here we were ordered to retain rooms for one night for the Count of Haga. This however, was no easy matter: the inn could only afford two beds; we considered the Franciscan convent to be the more eligible habitation; but the cells were too small, and the mattresses too hard to be slept on. In this exigency, two burghers made us an offer of their habitation. The window places were without sash, casement, or glass; but blinds were substituted in their stead, and the rooms were filled with filth and cobwebs. The naked walls of stone were besmeared with dirt and nastiness; nor could we procure any candles for love or money. Necessity compelling us, we accepted the proposal, and the Count of Haga was perfectly satisfied with our arrangement.*

" Even in the largest Italian cities, dirt and filthiness of every kind are exceedingly common, and exhibit the most disgusting appearances. At Rome itself, the noblest monuments of her ancient splendor are surrounded by *Cloacina's* recesses. The royal palace at Naples presented a similar spectacle: the roast chesnuts in the public streets, with fetid oil, occasioning a most [redacted] odour.

" Instead of having markets neat and clean as ours Sweden, for the sale of their meat, or especially fish, [redacted]

* " Mr. Acerbi is somewhat more difficult to please."

parishes or provinces petitions for relief, nothing could be more kind than his carriage, nothing more bland than his language. He overflowed with the most exalted *feeling*, whilst his heart was cold, and void of compassion. Gustavus, like the celebrated Sterne,* appeared to be so full of *sentiment* that there was no room for charity.

A wish to induce the *states* to extend aid to the suffering provinces, and of introducing the crown prince† to his sponsors, were the reasons assigned by Gustavus, after an interval of *eight*

find the latter article of nourishment indiscriminately dispersed throughout all their public places; and the smell of this raw fish is extremely offensive. Instead of slaughter-houses for cattle, well regulated like those in Stockholm, you *there* see the meat suspended every where in stalls, and the blood of cattle flowing down the kennels.—

"Well! does Mr. Acerbi's Italian pride find itself flattered by this accurate description of his country? *Can* any one travel so *very* comfortably in *his* native land? And these unparallelled cities, found at the end of every Swedish mile, and which the boaster says are handsomer, more *superb*, and possess *all the enjoyments* of life *far* more abundantly than even the *capital* of Sweden,—*in* [illegible]*anet do they exist?* Should not one of them for instance, be *Renciglione*, in the ecclesiastical states?"—*Briefen über Schweden, by Frederick Rühs* pp. 41 to 48

* Vide Walpoliana.

† The reverend Mr. Coxe was presented on the 8th of March,

*years,* for convening a diet. But Mr. Ristel insinuated that the real motive was to thwart some favorite measure of Catherine the Second; and it *prevented* the intended coronation at Cherson.* Gustavus wished to be thought *inscrutable* in his ways; and established for himself such a cha-

1784, to this prince. His account is as follows, viz. "In the afternoon we were presented to the prince royal, who, though scarcely six years old," (the child was only *five* years and *five* months!) "went through the forms of a drawing-room with wonderful ease and address for so young a person."—Vide Vol. IV. p. 68.

* The year 1787 opened with the extraordinary spectacle of the journey of the empress of Russia from Petersburg to Cherson, where it seems to have been her original intention to have been crowned with all possible magnificence, and under the splendid titles of empress of the east, liberator of Greece, and restorer of the series of Roman emperors, who formerly swayed the sceptre over that division of the globe.—

"The splendor of the route of the czarina surpasses whatever the imagination would spontaneously suggest. She was escorted by an army. Pioneers preceded her march, whose business was to render the road as even and pleasant as it could possibly be made. At the end of each day's journey, she found a temporary palace erected for her reception, together with all the accommodations and luxuries that Petersburg could have afforded. In the number of her followers were the ambassadors of London, Versailles, and Vienna; and her own ambassador, as well as the envoy from the emperor to the court of Constantinople, were appointed to meet her at Cherson. She had directed the former, M. de Bulhakow, to sound in a distant manner the Ottoman Porte, respecting the sending an officer to compliment her on her arrival, and thus to witness and sanction as it were, the degradation of the Turks; but the proposal

racter for dissimulation, that neither friend nor foe placed the least reliance on his word. Gifted with such matchless abilities, he might have been regarded as a blessing to his country. The benefits that he had conferred on Sweden consisted, in extinguishing that venal and rapacious nest of usurping nobles forming the oligarchy; in restoring order to the finances; in relieving agriculture, by granting a more secure tenure of the crown lands, and longer leases, with reversion to the eldest son; in permitting a free exportation of corn; in preventing land-owners from compelling their tenants to deliver their corn-rent where they commanded; and allowing it to be deposited at the nearest market-town.*

was rejected with indignation. We have seen the king of Poland meet her in her journey; and the emperor, not contented with swelling her triumph at Cherson, appeared in that capital eight days before her, and proceeded a considerable distance up the Dnieper to give her the meeting. The coronation, for reasons we are unable to explain, was laid aside; but the empress was received under triumphal arches at Kiow; and upon her arrival at Cherson, having thought proper to extend the walls to take in a larger space than they yet contained, she inscribed over one of the gates of the city, "*Through this gate lies the road to Byzantium.*" The imperial visitors entered the city on the 23d of May; and, having remained five days, [illegible]ded to make a tour through the principal places of the peninsula, which was completed in something less than a fortnight. The empress returned to Petersburg by the way of Moscow."—*New Annual Register*, 1789—pp. 61 and 62.

* The severity with which the feudal system was then acted upon in Sweden, may be conceived from the nature of those relaxations.

## CHAP. II.

*The diet of* 1786.—*Conduct of Colonel Almfelt.—Precocious attainments of the crown prince.—Jarring politics of the Northern Courts.—War between Sweden and Russia.—Anecdote of Russian naval officers.—Gustavus the Third commands the army of Finland.—A formidable mutiny.—Denmark joins Russia.—Gustavus returns to Stockholm.—Progress of the Danes in Sweden.—Gustavus sets off suddenly for Dalcarlia.—Character of the Dalkarls.—Courage and activity of the king.—British mediation.—Armistice between Denmark and Sweden.*

EIGHT years had elapsed after the diet of 1778, before Gustavus the Third called another general assembly of the states. Whether it was state policy, or the wants of an exhausted treasury that at last impelled this measure, it was deferred as long as possible. The last diet was suddenly closed to prevent the extent of the royal aut[illegible] being discussed in the House of Nobles. And when the publication of the debates was announced, the king prevented that measure by arbitrarily seizing on the manuscripts and printed copies. These things were not forgotten in 1786.

The proclamation for convoking the diet was suddenly published in Finland: it was wholly unexpected in Stockholm. The empress Catherine reprimanded her minister for not having previously informed her of the event; the report having reached her court from the frontiers. The diet was commenced on the 7th of May, 1786. In his opening speech, the king expatiated on the prosperous state of the kingdom respecting commerce, the army, navy, and fortifications; and he enumerated the many advantages enjoyed since his accession to the throne, of which the royal dissembler said, the chief were, the preservation of peace, and the—*liberty of the people!*

"Our nation, however," said he, "has not been exempted from the vicissitudes to which all mundane situations are liable. The first of all riches, the productions of the earth, have been denied us for the last three years; and this calamity has not a little increased my cares, *who feel for my subjects as for myself.** What endeavors I have used to prevent the disastrous effects of this failure; and what succours I have given for the relief of my subjects, you already know by [illegible] effects. May they animate you to concur with me in such measures as may protect our country from similar misfortunes in future!"

* He shewed this by resolutely persevering in all the luxuries of his extravagant establishment, and costly pageantry, at a time of such awful calamity.

Gustavus then spoke of the crown prince, of his education, and of the efforts used to render him worthy of being the head of a free people. "I rejoice," said he, "that the first object which occurs to his innocent view, *is the union of a people essentially free*, submitting to the laws, conjointly with the king, who, at the same time that he is invested with authority, is himself bound by the same laws." *

He concluded his elaborate and high-wrought speech, by presenting the four following propositions to the diet, *i. e.*

1. That the punishment for *infanticide* be changed from death to perpetual imprisonment, with a public whipping once every year, on the day on which the crime was committed.†

2. That estates shall no longer be divided, but shall descend from the father to the eldest son, charged with the portions of the other children.

3. That the king be authorised to draw from the bank a fund sufficient for the establishment of a magazine of corn, in any place where he shall judge convenient, in order to prevent the excessive dearness of that article.

4. That the king be empowered to dr[illegible]

* It is really surprising the king should have the temerity and folly to speak thus of a child, by no means of bright natural parts, and who was then no more than seven years and six months old!

† This law was in force in Sweden in 1808.

the bank a fund for defraying the expences of the mines; and particularly for the purpose of securing that of Fahlun from inundation: upon the condition, however, of his depositing in the bank a quantity of copper, equal in value to the specie taken from it.

The king carried only one of these propositions; namely, that which related to the establishment of public granaries, as a resource in years of scarcity. The *manner* in which even this was opposed, shewed that it was suspected that the money which the king might thus obtain, would be devoted to support his destructive splendor. General Baron Pechlin, whom the king arrested in 1772, used very mild language, and liberal sentiments on this occasion.

General Toll, a *ministerialist*, proposed to empower the crown to accept a commutation in money instead of horses, &c. furnished by the occupiers of the crown lands. This proposition was soon negatived. In respect to the abolition of the king's monopoly of the distilleries, he rejected every application from the peasants; expressing his readiness to surrender the monopoly of distilling brandy from corn; but he demanded in its place, as an indemnification, a tax on coffee, and also a perpetual land-tax. This would, to a great extent, have transferred the burthen from the plebeians to the nobles. It was therefore vehemently opposed, and rejected almost unanimously. The only vote of supply was 600,000 dollars, to

provide the public granaries. The king yielded in several matters of minor importance to the wishes of the diet; and even his personal vote in the senate, in case of equal divisions. As he probably had in his own mind, at this time, determined to abolish the senate altogether at the next diet, his yielding the right of giving the casting vote was a small sacrifice. The great nobles plumed themselves on compelling the king to make this concession. They learnt its value when the senate was abolished. Before the states separated, they greatly offended the king by deducting one per cent. from the amount of the taxes requiredf or the necessities of the state; he would not or could not conceal his chagrin. In his closing speech, Gustavus lamented that a restless and mistrustful spirit prevailed, *ill-founded*, and ill-deserved, which seemed likely to interrupt that concord which, at the sacrifice of his private interests, he had endeavored to maintain, and appealed to posterity to do justice to the purity of his motives. His peevish manner shewed how greatly he was annoyed, and he gave the states to understand it should be "*a long time*" before he would again call them together. Thus, in a sullen and unsatisfactory manner, closed the second diet assembled after the overthrow of the oligarchy. Gustavus at this time was very generally disliked. He was suspected of wishing to convert the royal authority into an autocracy. His unbecoming *association* with *young* noblemen,

and the quarrels that sometimes ensued, subjected him to black imputations. Colonel Almfelt displayed the effect of this want of dignity in the king. At the revolution of 1772, he was a cornet in the light dragoons. Gustavus made him a knight of the order of the sword, gave him a patent of nobility, and advanced him to high rank in the army. Yet *he* retired *in disgust* from the court, and opposed the king with the utmost virulence in the diet of 1786;—retaining at the same time appointments to the amount of £.2000 per annum. Such was the manner in which Gustavus endeavoured to *relieve* the distresses of a starving population!—by granting *enormous pensions* to worthless minions, by whom he was secretly despised.

The extraordinary pains taken with the crown prince by the king, who still appeared to those about his person as if he felt no paternal affection towards the child, gave rise to strange surmises. The infant, whilst in long petticoats, was not even taken out an airing without being attended by a party of light horse.* Every step shewed that Gustavus studied stage-effect. The poor child was so much tormented, it was wonderful they

* The wet-nurse, an uncultivated Dalecarlian rustic, never once supposing all this parade was intended to compliment a sucking-baby, told one of the *wacht-meisters*, or chamber-grooms, that she was quite ashamed of the honors *paid her at court*; and was afraid she should be envied and disliked on that account by her neighbours on her return to Dalecarlia.

did not reduce his mind to a state of idiotcy. He was reared in a hardy manner, and immersed so often in cold water, in cold weather, that his legs became blue and discolored: but, from the moment of his birth, he was attended with every mark of homage that regal pride and etiquette could devise. Gustavus carried the young prince from one province to another; condemning him to painful and wearisome rehearsals, in order to prepare him for daily exhibitions of precocious attainments. Of course, each person that approached the infant prodigy, listened with profound attention to his measured recitations, watching his motions as if he had been an automaton instead of a living child. A mode of education as likely to spoil the future man, as if he had been reared by a gang of strolling players. Gustavus used *this heir to his throne*, sometimes as a conductor to ward off the flash of popular indignation, but always subservient to his selfish and ambitious designs. After having exhibited him in many provincial towns, he caused the royal babe to make his first appearance on academic boards at Upsala ere he had completed his eighth year. During a stay of *six weeks*, the young Gustavus enjoyed neither rest nor tranquillity. He was daily made to exhibit all his acquirements. The successor of that great botanist, Linné, said one day in derision, "*I must attend the young crown prince to receive a lesson on botany!*" The king assisted, or rather tutored, the unfortunate boy in most of the private, and all

the public exercises he performed. Those who lavished flattery most unsparingly, gratified and best pleased the artful Gustavus, who cared nothing as to the private thoughts of mankind, so that they paid him external homage. In taking his son through the provinces, and shewing him the forms of academic education; in familiarising him to public asemblies, and the youths then studying, there was nothing improper. It was the over-wrought manner in which these things were performed by Gustavus, that prevented any good effect arising, and often rendered these royal exhibitions equally ridiculous and wearisome.*

* The Rev. Mr. Coxe, though not a servile man, was still a flatterer of kings, in return for which he experienced '*extreme condescensions*, from monarchs, who wished to make a figure in his future volumes. Yet, in spite of all his caution, he sometimes let a glimpse of his real feelings escape. Vol. 4. p. 66, he says, "On the 8th, we passed the whole day at Drottningholm, according to the *tedious forms of Swedish etiquette*, to which the king is so much attached. We set off *full dressed* from Stockholm at eleven; and as the weather was *showery*, the embarkation in the minister's barge was *rather* disagreeable." A little further on he writes, "It was gala-day, and we saw the court in all its splendor. The *gala dress* for both men and women is *blue silk* and *satin*, with *white lining* and *ornaments*: to a stranger, the company appeared as if *habited for a* masquerade." The *king's dress* is thus described: "After church the king made his appearance, and he wore a FANCY DRESS OF PURPLE *silk*, RICHLY EMBROIDERED WITH GOLD; *for while he has* LIMITED *his subjects to particular colors, he* VARIES *his own dress with all the tints of the rainbow.*" On being presented, the king did me the honor to converse with me in the most gracious manner;

Whilst revelry and pageantry in constantly varying shapes, distinguished the effeminate and luxurious court of Gustavus the Third; misery and famine, extended itself rapidly amongst the laboring poor from one extremity of Sweden to another. The groans of the wretches who perished of want, the curses of the degraded paupers who were reduced to seek for such food as the king's well fed hounds would have turned from with loathing, produced not the least retrenchment. This cruel prince continued his guilty magnificence, brim-full of sympathy and condescension; but as indifferent to the misery that was greatly aggravated, if not caused, by his wasteful magni-

he recollected having seen me before in Sweden; mentioned the docks in Carlscrona, and asked me if I had seen the dock at Toulon? adding, "*It is not for* ME *to boast, but, in* MY *estimation, the works in Toulon are trifling in comparison with those of Carlscrona. We do not boast of pictures and statues, but we can shew the works of Trollhätta, Carlscrona, and Sveaborg.*" Soon after, he repaired to a large saloon, *dined in public*, and conversed with the foreign ministers, who *surrounded* his chair." Mr. Coxe concludes his narration of this day's grandeur thus: "At the conclusion of the opera, we embarked in a *covered brage, crossed the water in the rain, and arrived at Stockholm about midnight.*" (The distance by water is greater than by land, which is seven miles English.) "Such is the *necessary* etiquette of the Swedish court; but the king *contrives* as much as possible, to relieve the *ennui* of the day, by the affability of his manners, and the vivacity of his conversation." This is Mr. Coxe's account of Gustavus and his court; whose fondness for those exhibitions, and sending the ministers home at midnight by water, almost caused a *mutiny* in the *diplomatic corps* at Stockholm.

ficence, as the cold rocks on which his subjects perished. Nothing was heard at court but approbation of all the acts of "*the best of kings;*" nothing in the capital and provinces but complaints, and prayers for reform and retrenchment. To these Gustavus turned a deaf ear. His ministers and minions imputed every thing to the spirit of disaffection. Meantime the oppressed and suffering poor, overwhelmed by intolerable misery, broke out into frequent revolts, that were as frequently put down by the bayonet. But several of the *king's distilleries* were burnt to the ground, and his inspectors and officers murdered. From these causes, and the consequent *loss* it occasioned, the king at last was induced to relinlinquish his odious monopoly, and allow the farmers to distil a limited quantity of brandy for their own use, paying to the king a certain quantity of rye each harvest, according to the extent of their farm.

The conduct of Russia towards the Ottoman empire at last determined the grand seignior to have recourse to arms. Torn by internal dissensions, the court of Versailles was in no condition to assist the Turks. The emperor of Germany, although he endeavoured to mask his hostile views by pretending to act only as an auxiliary of Russia, whom he met at Cherson, fully entered into the views of Catherine the Second, England and Prussia viewed her projects with jealousy; and as to Sweden, the king was too

eager to bind his brows with laurel, not to anticipate the wishes of the Turks, and determine on war with Russia: a disposition in which he was secretly encouraged by the courts of London and Berlin. The constitution of 1772, which he had himself formed, expressly excluded the king from waging an offensive war without the formal sanction of the states in diet assembled. The temper manifested by that of 1786, forbade the hope of being able to carry his point; France being unable to take part with Turkey, and Austria leagued with Russia. Secretly determined on war, he prepared for the event by land and sea. Knowing that Denmark was bound to assist Russia in case of her territories being invaded, Gustavus was of course anxious, if possible, to detach his wife's nephew, the crown prince, from the interest of Russia, and obtain his hearty concurrence in Swedish projects. This prince, however, entertained the worst possible opinion of Gustavus the Third, whose reputation for over-wrought duplicity was so thoroughly established, that even when he avowed his real feelings, he was certain not to be believed. If, joined to these matters, the extraordinary and disgusting nature of the conduct pursued by the Swedish monarch towards Sophia Magdalena be considered, it cannot be any matter of surprise that the crown prince of Denmark should feel very reluctant to commit himself with a prince of so indifferent a character. Yet,

for hesitating to place the fleet and army of Denmark at the disposal of Gustavus, the crown prince was loudly censured in this country; the soundness of his understanding rudely questioned; and his ministers openly accused of having sold themselves to Russia! Gustavus travelled twice to Copenhagen to influence his nephew, the first time at the close of 1787, and next in the spring of 1788.

It is almost certain that Catherine the Second relied on the neutrality of Sweden during her war with Turkey, and that she sent into Asia more troops than she would otherwise have done. It is probable her dependence rested less on the pacific disposition of Gustavus, than the preponderance of the nobles in the diet that she expected he *must* call before he commenced offensive operations. The naval and military preparations of Gustavus were in a state of great forwardness. Catherine was informed of this; and whilst Gustavus was employed in maturing plans to gloss over his pre-determined violation of his oath, his imperial opponent was no less diligently at work to render his breach of faith subversive of his designs; not alone in Stockholm, but more particularly in *Finland*. These manœuvres were reported to Gustavus the Third; and, right or wrong, the Russian minister Razomoffsky was denounced. The latter, on the 18th of June, 1778,* delivered in a note in which he complained

* For these curious state papers, see *New Annual Register*, 1788.

of secret armaments, and demanded an explanation as to their object, asserting that Count Oxentsjern had declared to a foreign minister, they were intended against Russia. Gustavus replied in a circular note, without date, accusing Razomoffsky of encouraging internal treachery, and aiming at separating the king from the nation: Gustavus reserved to himself, upon his arrival in Finland, to answer more particularly; and ordered the Russian minister to quit Stockholm in the space of seven days; offering *ships* to escort him to Petersburg *by sea;* a mode of travelling to which he had some personal, and many more *political* objections to offer. Gustavus could not have a public minister seized and stowed against his will on board a hostile ship; and he would not permit Razomoffsky to proceed, as he desired, via *Abo,* to Petersburg. The result was, that the wily Russian remained in Stockholm. Gustavus embarked with his army at Stockholm on the 24th June, and landed in Finland on the 2d July. About a fortnight previous to the arrival of Gustavus in Finland, hostilities were *commenced,* and as the Swede asserted, on the *side of Russia,* whose light troops having passed the Swedish frontier not far from Savolax; when the Swedish commander, *thinking hostilities were commenced,* not merely repulsed the invaders, but entered Russian Finland; and, according to '*ancient usage,*' possessed himself of the passes that commanded the roads into Swedish Finland, and proceeded to form the blockade of Nyslot!—Such was the

court version in Sweden of this affair. Russia, on the contrary, sturdily denied the imputed aggression. And it must be allowed, that the conduct of the Swedish commander looked very suspicious. The anti-Gustavian party in the capital and in Finland, resolutely declared that Gustavus was the aggressor. It was then reported, and it is said to have been subsequently confirmed, that, to furnish a colour to the projected invasion, and make the war appear as an offensive one on the part of Sweden, Gustavus dressed a party of German soldiers in the Russian uniform; which, led by trusty officers, entered by a remote pass the Swedish territory, plundering a few solitary farms, and driving back an advanced post of Swedes. This account was current in 1808, in Stockholm. But which ever were the first *to commence* hostilities, the news being carried direct to the duke of Sodermanland, who commanded the Swedish grand fleet, the war broke forth at once by sea and land! Such was the state of affairs when Gustavus landed in Finland, and took the chief command of the Swedish troops. His first step was to communicate to the empress the conditions on which peace might be preserved. They were as follow: namely,

1. The punishment of Count Razomoffsky, for having attempted to create internal dissensions, and meddle with the domestic affairs of Sweden.

2. That Catherine should cede to Sweden all those parts of Finland and Carelia, and also the

district of Kexholm, that had been wrested from Sweden by the treaties of Nystadt and Abo.

3. That Catherine should accept his mediation, by authorising him to offer to the Turks *the cession of the Crimea*, and the regulation of the limits upon the footing of Cainargi; or, if that concession should *not prove acceptable* to the Divan, that the question as to territory, should be placed on the same footing, on which it stood previously to the war of 1768.

4. As a security against *being injured* by acting as mediator, that Russia should *disarm their fleets*, and *withdraw* their cruizers from the Baltic; those of Sweden to remain armed, and at sea, till the final ratification of peace.

These, the modest king, called the conditions of his *ultimatum!* The sole object of these wild and absurd demands was, to flatter the national pride of the *Swedish nation;* and thus counteract the endeavours made by his enemies to separate the throne from the kingdom. With every reflecting mind, it operated the contrary way; but Gustavus knew that nineteen were led by their passions and prejudices, where one decided and acted on the principles of reason. Its effect in Sweden was highly favorable to his views. The war became popular: the ruin of the Russian and Danish navies was predicted with confidence; and that, avenging the losses sustained by Sweden, Gustavus would chase Catherine

and the Muscovites from Petersburg, and restore Sweden to the rank it possessed in Europe in the days of the great Gustavus Adolphus. The sagacious Catherine was not deceived by this finesse. She immediately published her manifesto in reply; in which that blood-stained woman, upbraided Gustavus as a tyrant and usurper, stigmatizing the revolution of 1772, as a gross fraud practised on the nation, with a view to deprive the Swedes of their liberty. Although this might be true, yet, coming from the lips of a woman, who mounted the throne by the murder of her husband, and kept possession to the exclusion of her son, and whose will was the only law, it appeared quite preposterous.

At the first commencement of hostilities, two Russian frigates were captured, and taken into Sveaborg. The Swedish grand fleet sailed from Carlscrona on the 9th of June, and fell in with a division of Russian line of battle ships, consisting of three of one hundred guns each, and one seventy-four, under the command of Admiral Dessen, proceeding to Elsineur. The duke of Sodermanland, insisted upon the Russian admiral saluting the Swedish flag. Agreeably surprised at the moderation of the request, when he expected nothing less than to be captured, he sagaciously replied, "that although by the stipulations of formal treaties, there could be no question as to salutes between the fleets of Russia and Sweden; yet he had no objection to

pay that respect to the brother of the king of Sweden." After some immaterial discussion, the duke allowed this important force to proceed to its destination: a proof of the want of decision and firmness in the king.* It was thought singular that Gustavus did not allow the Russian fleet commanded by Admiral Greig,† to sail for the Archipelago; and then, with his united force, attempt

* It was rumoured and believed in the higher circles in Russia and Sweden, that the duke Charles was secretly in the pay of Catherine, who proposed to give him Finland, with the title of grand duke, if he would openly declare against his brother.

† Doctor Clarke, M. Masson, and other writers, have been of late years severely censured, for attributing the vice of *pilfering* to the native Russian nobles. It is to be hoped, the practice has greatly diminished, or rather, ceased altogether. That it was prevalent as recently as the time when those authors wrote, is unquestionably true. Admiral Greig and his wife were natives of Scotland. After his promotion in the Russian service, Mrs. Greig went to Leith, and bespoke a large quantity of silver table spoons and forks, and a still larger number of plated. Mr. P. F—r—r, who supplied them, inquired why she had so many expensive *plated* spoons and forks, besides the silver? The lady told him that her husband was forced to give frequent dinners to the Russian naval officers, who were in the habit of putting the spoons in their pockets: a practice that was so common, that the admiral used to place persons to watch his guests during dinner; who were placed at the door to demand stolen articles as the purloiners went out; and when it was refused, offenders were searched!—The admiral, therefore, substituted a large quantity of plated spoons and forks, as, in spite of all precautions, they lost several every public dinner. The gentleman who supplied those articles is yet living, a man of character in London; and he told this anecdote as a grave matter of fact to the author at the close of the year 1816. The author has also heard

a blow against Cronstadt and Petersburg. It was one of many strange actions on the part of Gustavus, that are not to be accounted for on any rational principle of state policy. Perhaps he was jealous of the *eclat* Russia might acquire in the south; and calculating too highly his own naval resources, resolved to have the fleet attacked. On the 4th of July 1788, the Russian fleet sailed from Cronstadt. On the 17th, he fell in with the grand fleet of Sweden, commanded by the duke of Sodermanland, who was assisted by Admiral Count Wrangel. A general engagement ensued off Hogland, which lasted five hours; and terminated in a drawn battle. The Swedes captured a Russian seventy-four, and completely disabled another line of battle ship: the Russians took a Swedish sixty-four, carrying a flag. The Swedish fleet at the commencement of the engagement, was inferior in force; but a reinforcement of large frigates rendered them nearly equal: the Russians having seventeen ships of the line, the Swedes fifteen. The battle was very fierce, each party displaying considerable skill, and both the fleets sustained serious damage.

Whilst such were the principal naval actions of this year, Gustavus, at the head of his army in Finland, advanced towards Frederickshamn. He encamped on the 19th of July, within a few

Swedish noblemen assert that it was dangerous, if a Russian nobleman visited their hotels, to leave any thing portable and valuable, such as snuff-boxes, watches, or trinkets, in their way.

miles of that port and fortress. A part of the garrison, the following night, attacked his advanced guard. The assailants were repulsed, and driven back with loss. A few days afterwards, a detachment of six thousand troops embarked at Sveaborg, with orders to attack the fortress in the rear, whilst Gustavus should advance against it in front.* Two cannon shots, fired at a regulated distance of time, was the signal by which Gustavus was to be informed of their approach. The Swedish fleet was detained several days by contrary winds; and the enemy obtained possession, not merely of the plan, but even of the private signal fixed on by the king himself! The Swedes lost many troops, particularly cavalry, in attempting to explore the height that commanded a view of the gulph, in hopes of discovering the expected fleet. At length, on the 1st of August, two cannon shot, being the appointed signal, were distinctly heard by the Swedish out-posts. Deceived by the enemy, the party sent forward towards the walls were suddenly attacked by a force in ambuscade, and not without great loss and difficulty made good its retreat. The next day, however, the expected reinforcement arrived, and the disembarkation took place. The governor of Fredericksham, though

* These expressions are dubious: Fredericksham being a sea port, most probably the Sveaborg expedition was ordered to commence the attack by sea; on which Gustavus meant to advance to co-operate on the land side.

apprised of an event that was to blast all the bright visions indulged by Gustavus, made every preparation for the expected assault, causing the suburbs to be burnt, that they might not afford shelter to the foe.

The province of Finland was of equal value to Sweden and Russia, and in every war it became the theatre of hostilities, the inhabitants suffering the most terrible of visitations. The vast and increasing power of Russia, impressed on the minds of the Finland nobility a belief that ultimately the power of Russia would prevail, and the whole of Finland become a Swedish province. The agents of Catherine encouraged this belief by every means in their power. More than a year before the war commenced, Gustavus was accused of being determined, without the sanction of a diet, to attack Russia. The emissaries sent by the empress artfully expatiating on the perjuries and boundless ambition of Gustavus, represented that it was the duty of the Finlanders to refuse invading Russia, whereby they were sure to draw destruction on their own heads, and boldly to remonstrate: adding, that the persons and property of all those who acted in this manner should be respected by the Russian troops, whilst on all those who joined in the invasion of Russian Finland, the most terrible vengeance should be executed. As soon as the war commenced, proclamations printed in the Finland tongue were profusely

distributed, confirming these menaces and seductive offers.

Many of the chief noblemen* and gentry of Finland, holding commissions in the Finland army, being aware of the artifices to which the king had recourse, whereby to elude the conditions of the constitution of 1772; and being also, perhaps, dismayed at the prospect of that terrible retaliation which they foresaw the empress Catherine would inflict in return for this invasion, and of which, their families and estates were sure to be the first victims, determined to resist the king's authority. Having sounded the inclinations of the soldiery, and finding them as docile as they could wish, they secretly drew up a solemn protest, declaring their inviolable attachment to the laws of Sweden, and their readiness, with their hearts' blood, to defend the province against all invaders. They complained indignantly of being, without the sanction of the estates of Sweden, called upon to carry a war of aggression into a foreign country. Thus prepared they waited a proper opportunity to declare themselves; which presented itself when the king commanded Colonel Hestesko to march to the assault of Fredericksham. The colonel first offered some remonstrances to the king, respecting the dangers and difficulties of the way by which he proposed for the troops to

* Colonels Spengporten and Hestesko, were the principal military leaders.

approach; namely, over an impassable marsh. Irritated at their apparent want of zeal, Gustavus *insisted* on being obeyed. The confederated officers then, in plain and direct terms, told the astonished king that he had not any legal right to lead them to an act of offensive warfare without the consent of the states of Sweden! That, if their country were attacked, they were ready to shed the last drop of their blood in its defence; but that they would do no more than protect their own frontiers against invasion! The king, trusting to his eloquence and his influence, appealed to the listening soldiery. Instead of separating these from their chiefs, he was heard with a sullen silence that was truly ominous, and the regiment of Abo, of which Colonel Hestesko was at the head, immediately laid down their arms!

Never was a blow that was more severely felt, struck against the guilty designs of an ambitious king. His splendid dream of chacing Catherine and her court from St. Petersburg, which appeared on the very eve of being realised, vanished for ever.* Mortified and chagrined to the highest

* It is an unquestionable fact, so great was the alarm at Petersburg that the empress Catherine had commanded the archives of the state, and the most precious and portable of her treasures, to be packed up, ready for removal! The revolt of the Finland army, and the disasters that attended his naval operations, certainly saved Petersburg from being captured by the Swedes. An event that would have covered Gustavus with what is called "*glory*," and as certainly have led to the utter ruin and desolation of his kingdom.

pitch, Gustavus had, at the moment, no power to punish the indignity. If he had then offered to arrest the Finland officers, he saw that the soldiers would have risen in their defence. Colonel Hestesko said to Gustavus in a low tone of voice, "*Sire, beware! The moment is critical! Remember,* "*that one false step may lead to the loss of your* "*crown.*" The cheeks of Gustavus were blanched but not by cowardice, for no man was more free from that taint: he did *remember* things, which he intended should long, if not eternally remain concealed. It was that consciousness which blanched his cheeks: *he dreaded an exposure!* and that the disaffected Swedish nobility, might perhaps at that very moment be assembled in his metropolis, aiming a deadly and concerted blow at his political power, if not his life. Whilst his heart, filled with rage and anguish, panted for vengeance, and his lips quivered from half-subdued rage; seeing the storm approach, Gustavus wisely yielded to a power that would have otherwise destroyed him. He soon appeared composed and determined. With an aching heart, and unruffled brow, he commanded General Seigeroth to re-embark the troops that had effected their landing, and were also ready for the attack, and to make the best of his way back. The blockade of Nyslot, an impregnable fortress, that could never be taken but by famine, which stood on the point of surrendering to the Swedish forces under Colonel Häster, was obliged to be precipitately raised. The whole army

was withdrawn, every advantage relinquished; and with feelings of no very enviable kind, the perfidious and disappointed king made the utmost haste to his metropolis.

The business of the campaign being thus suddenly and disgracefully closed, the mutinous officers of the army of Finland, entered into open negociations with the court of Russia. During these transactions, the Russian minister Razamoffsky remained in Stockholm, and it may be presumed that his influence was not small in producing those events. The chiefs of the revolted army had the audacity to send deputies to Petersburg, proposing an armistice, till the senate of Sweden should resolve on the steps it might be proper to pursue, to restrain the ambition of a king who laughed at oaths. It may readily be supposed that these traitors were well received by Catherine, who loved their treachery, however she might despise the men. What is more extraordinary,—and which, joined to other circumstances, seemed in some measure to countenance the report that was so general in Petersburg respecting the treachery of the Duke of Sodermanland,—the negotiations between a revolted army and the Russian court were carried on under his own eyes. The duke Charles left his fleet, to take the command of the army, and appeared at first determined to throw every impediment in the way of that treasonable correspondence; but he soon changed his system, and

ratified the conditions of that extraordinary convention. The consequences were, that the Swedes retreated at all points from the Russian territories; and the Russian army immediately advancing, took possession of those passes that the Swedes had seized, and without which the enemy could not have forced his way into Swedish Finland! One general officer alone, Lieutenant General Plaaten, boldly maintained his station in Carelia, asserting that he would not be bound by the act of his commander in chief, when it was procured by extortion. Such were the first results of a mutiny that shook the throne of Gustavus the third. And it must be admitted,—*if any thing could justify the Finland chiefs*,—it existed in the deep dissimulation of Gustavus, and the alacrity with which he violated a fundamental principle of a constitution he had solemnly and emphatically sworn to defend inviolate.

The same policy that led Gustavus to invade Finland, tempted the crown prince of Denmark to take advantage of the distress in which Gustavus was involved, in order to wrest from Sweden the provinces that had been conquered in former wars. But, possessing *absolute power*, the royal Dane was exempted from the odium of violated oaths: he was besides bound by treaty to assist Russia. Gustavus heard in Finland of these preparations, and he instantly sent an official note claiming the mediation of Denmark to negotiate a peace with the empress; or, the observ-

ance by Denmark of a strict neutrality. Count Bernstorff, in the name of the king, replied to the Swedish note. He protested against the principle laid down therein; and affirmed that peace was *not violated* by supplying the ships of war and troops stipulated for in the treaty with Russia, and required the continuance of friendly relations with Sweden, after having already commenced hostilities against it! This declaration was dated the 23d of September 1788. On the 6th of October, Baron de Sprengporten forwarded a counter declaration, on the part of Gustavus the Third, affirming, what was indeed self-evident, that the peace was at an end, and protesting against the doctrine laid down by Count Bernstorff, adding that the king "resting on the assurances of Mr. Elliot" (British envoy at Copenhagen), "embraces the condition with satisfaction, provided that *defeating* the *Danish auxiliaries* in Sweden, is not considered as *hostility* against his Danish majesty."

In the month of June preceding, the crown prince of Denmark set out on a tour to Norway. Gustavus affected to expect him to pay a *friendly visit* to the Swedish frontiers, and sent some officers of his court to receive the royal Dane with due respect. The viceroy of Norway (Prince Charles of Hesse) had preceded the crown prince, and visited the fortifications of Warberg, Elfsborg, and Gothenburg. The Swedes affirmed, that Prince Charles acted with gross dissimulation; entering Sweden rather as a spy than as an

honorable visitor. And that the journey of the Crown Prince to Norway was also a feint practised to deceive the Swedish court: for, instead of sending the auxiliaries to Russia, it was determined to employ them in the invasion of Sweden itself. This formidable source of danger furnished one great motive for Gustavus so suddenly quitting Finland. In the constitution of 1772, that monarch had not provided for his absence from Sweden. And as the king was not entitled to vote in the senate by proxy, his absence left the field open to the machinations of his enemies; and it was determined to convene a diet without the concurrence of Gustavus, for the ostensible and specious object of allaying public discontent.

After his sudden return to Stockholm, the king retired for a short time to his favorite little pavilion at Haga. His sudden appearance, however, broke up the plan for convening a diet. The people at large were inflamed to the highest degree against the revolted army, and against the nobles who were suspected of instigating the mutiny in Finland. The Swedes thought they saw a glorious opportunity lost by cowardice and treachery, of avenging the wrongs and losses sustained from Russia. Gustavus artfully increased the storm of public indignation, which raged so fierce that an officer could scarcely shew himself in the streets without danger of being massacred. Baron Charles De Geer, the wealthy chief of one of the oldest noble families in Sweden, as

well as other obnoxious noblemen, had a narrow escape from the fury of the populace. Gustavus addressed the burgers of Stockholm, telling them that he placed the most entire confidence in *their affection and loyalty*, and should entrust the royal family and the capital to *their fidelity and courage*. He addressed them on the *Slots Backa*,* from the spot where a most beautiful and superb obelisk of polished granite has been since erected. Gustavus was unusually eloquent and impressive. The whole multitude seemed fired with enthusiasm. Two thousand burgers, horse and foot, speedily enrolled themselves, and performed all the military duties of the regular garrison.

In all these transactions, Gustavus was assisted by General Baron Armfelt; who was one of the most vile and unprincipled of mankind. He was the secret instigator of many of Gustavus's worst actions; flattering the monarch whom he was artfully leading to destruction. On the return of the king, this minion strove all he could to drive the discontented nobles into rebellion, probably with the hope of laying the whole of Sweden at the feet of Catherine. Whilst these events were occurring in Stockholm, the prince of Hesse sailed from Jutland; and after landing contiguous to the Swedish frontier in Norway, entered Sweden at the head of an army twelve thousand strong, and well appointed. On the

* The Castle-hill, at the rear of the great palace.

26th of September, 1788, he took possession of Strömstadt, a small port and city. The head-quarters of Baron General Hjerta and the Swedish army, were at Vennersborg: a strong detachment of Swedish troops, commanded by Colonel Tranfelt, was placed at Quistrum, a pass that commanded the road to Gothenburg. It was reported that the charms of a handsome landlady, and a wish on the side of the colonel not to destroy her house, led to an omission of which the Danish prince rapidly availing himself, compelled the Swedish colonel and the troops to surrender. Prince Charles of Hesse, next summoned Uddevalla, which city he entered on the 1st of October; whence he sent to summon Gothenburg itself, which, according to every appearance, seemed likely to open its gates without resistance.

This formidable and sudden invasion of Sweden by Denmark, formed an exigency that roused all the great qualities of Gustavus; whose courage seemed to rise with the difficulties by which he was surrounded. The popular resentment excited by the revolt in Finland, having rendered the king secure for the present against the enmity of the aristocracy, he made rapid preparations to repel the invaders. Thus, that formidable mutiny, which threatened to wrest the sceptre from his hand, had a directly opposite effect, revived his former popularity, and strengthened his arm. Nor was it against Catherine, and the Russian faction in Sweden, alone, towards whom Gustavus artfully

directed the public indignation that prevailed; but against the crown prince of Denmark, whose name and character he overwhelmed with opprobrious epithets, accusing him of a train of perfidious actions, and a wish to present the world with a second tragedy in Stockholm, in imitation of that performed by Christian the tyrant. The former cruelties of the Danes, handed down to the existing generation by tradition, are yet fresh in the memory of the Swedes. It was to induce the Dalcarlians to take up arms against the Danes, that Gustavus Vasa, a fugitive and alone, cast himself upon their honor and bravery! Sweden being again in danger from a Danish army, nothing could be better conceived than the eloquent and pathetic appeal made to the passions and prejudices of the Dalcarlians. Gustavus had given orders for troops to be transported from Finland and Pomerania, to hasten to the defence of the western provinces; and to strengthen the garrison of Gothenburg, he sent away from Stockholm the foot-guards, and the Jemtland regiment. The capital thus stripped of regular troops, was left to the care of the burgers. Pressed on all sides to call a diet, and perhaps apprehensive *of his person being seized*, Gustavus made a sudden and unexpected journey into Dalcarlia,* whereby

* The people of Dalcarlia, according to the testimony of Sir John Carr, Sir Robert Porter, and other British travellers, are the devoted slaves of royalty, and ready at

artfully exaggerating his danger, and suppressing his own guilty machinations that had involved his country in a ruinous war, he worked so powerfully upon the passions of that brave, impetuous, and illiterate race of peasants, that they offered to march to Stockholm, and wreak vengeance on

all times to support their king, indifferent whether he was the oppressed or oppressing party. Such ideas are totally at variance with truth. Where the peasants of this province have been once in arms to defend the crown, they have revolted ten times against the royal authority.

They have been, from time immemorial, the most impatient under oppression of any province in Sweden: and as inflexibly addicted to their own local habits and customs. They live in the most spare and hardy manner; frequently suffering severe want, and compelled to mix the bark of trees with the coarsest meal, for bread. They are called Black or Grey Dal-karls, according to the colour of their dress; one part of the province being clad in black, and the other in grey. Their dress is composed of the coarsest and least costly materials. They emigrate in spring and summer in great numbers, in search of employ, and return home in winter. They make good soldiers, and laborious and faithful servants.

When Gustavus the First sought refuge amongst them, it was in vain he told them of the cruelties of Christian the Second, and the torrents of Swedish blood that he had shed. "He lets us alone," said the clowns, "and we have plenty of salt and herrings." But at last he prevailed, and the page of history proclaims that it was principally by their aid that Gustavus Vasa subdued the Danes, and delivered Sweden from their heavy and degrading yoke.

After Gustavus had been crowned king, these same

the restless aristocracy. The king's *shadow*, as Baron Armfelt was termed, seconded the views of the king so well, that ere long a volunteer force of 3000 young men was raised, with an assurance that the number should be doubled if necessary. The Dalcarlians agreed to march to the relief of

Dalcarlians shewed the utmost uneasiness: six times they revolted against his authority, upon some mistaken ideas that their privileges were likely to be infringed. In 1518, when Gustavus proclaimed the protestant religion, as the religion of the state, the Dalcarlians took up arms. Being abandoned by their chiefs, and overawed by the great force that Gustavus marched against them, and still influenced by the eloquence of that majestic prince, who had so often led them to victory, they were induced to lay down their arms. Another revolt was occasioned by an apprehension that some alteration was meditated in their dress, which they resolved to maintain themselves, and even insisted that the king and his court should continue to wear.

About the middle of the last century, the Dalcarlian peasants, displeased by the events of a campaign in Finland, rose in a body, and marched off for Stockholm, vowing vengeance against the unfortunate generals. During their disorderly march, they compelled all the peasants with whom they fell in, to join them. They entered Stockholm without opposition, and beset the house of nobles. A senator, (whose rank in Sweden is equal to a prince in Germany, or a duke in England,) went out dressed in his senatorial robes to address the wild and infuriated multitude. He was shot dead in a moment. The soldiers of the garrison then attacked the insurgents, many of whom were killed on the spot: those who escaped, made the best of their way back to Dalcarlia.

the invaded provinces; their example being followed by others, Gustavus assembled a force that he thought adequate to the protection of his invaded kingdom. But had it not been for the interference of Great Britain and Prussia, Sweden would have been deprived of two of her most

In 1808, when the pretended son and successor to Gustavus the Third, attempted to enforce the conscription in their province, they refused compliance: a revolt was expected, and the troops that were raised to complete what was called the supplementary army, were amongst the last that reached the place of rendezvous. Lastly, when the revolution of 1809 was on the point of breaking out, it was in vain that the weak and imbecile king strove to animate the Dalcarlians to rise in arms in his defence.

The province of Dalcarlia is of considerable extent; but very poor, and thinly peopled: its name *Dalarne*, or *the Dales*, is descriptive of its situation. It is less woody than some of the provinces of Sweden. The cultivated land is very small in proportion to the waste or bog land, mountains, and lakes. The loftiest mountains do not, exceed four thousand feet perpendicular height. Their huts are simple in the extreme, and without glass; the same hole that lets in the light, letting out the smoke. They hold their lands by a particular tenure, and amongst the peasantry the privilege of primogeniture is unknown. Exclusive of the great divisions of the province into the *black* and the *grey* Dalcarls; each parish has some distinguishing mark of dress, by which the natives can in a moment tell from what particular parish they come. The dress of the superior class of peasants bears some resemblance to a quaker's of the last century;

valuable provinces; namely, West Gothland and Scania.

The Dalcarlians being thoroughly set in motion, Gustavus proceeded at their head into Wermerland; where, as well as circumstances permitted, he provided for the defence of the principal forts and passes.

At Carlstadt, the capital of Wermerland, Gustavus was met by Mr. Elliot, the British envoy resident at Copenhagen. Having in vain exerted all his influence to detach Denmark from Russia, as soon as hostilities commenced, he crossed the Sound to visit Gustavus, to whom, at this crisis, his presence was worth an army: nor was the king slow in availing himself to the utmost of this important advantage. In the midst of the triumphant progress of the Danes, he informed his subjects of

they have no collars to their coats, wear large hats, and their necks generally open. Their province is surrounded by Wermerland, Norway, Herjedal, Helsingland, and including about two degrees of latitude and five of longitnde.

To the naturalist this province is interesting. Its mineralogy has never been thoroughly explored. Of British travellers, Doctor Thomas Thompson, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. gives the best account respecting its formation; but he saw but little of the province himself, except near the roads to and from the great mines. This work, which excels any other in the English tongue, rather as a Mineralogical Survey of Sweden, than as a picture of men and manners, is a quarto,—and was published in London, 1813.

the strong reasons he had for depending on their speedy retreat. Nor did Mr. Elliot make any unnecessary delay in giving full effect to his powerful interference. He wrote two letters to the prince of Hesse, enjoining him in the most energetic terms, to put an immediate stop to hostilities. Finding that the Danes pressed forward, and the unexpected and unwelcome tidings having reached Gustavus, of Colonel Tranfelt, of the West-Gothland regiment, with 700 privates, and some artillery, having, on the 29th September, surrendered at Quistrum to the Danish army; Mr. Elliot saw that not a moment was to be lost; and it was agreed between Gustavus and this active and resolute mediator, that the latter should proceed with all speed, and reach Gothenburg before the Danish army. To him alone was confided the intention of Gustavus to leave his head-quarters privately, and make his way as quick as possible to the same city. Meantime, the most anxious cares pressed on the king, who was greatly alarmed, lest, in spite of every effort of Mr. Elliot, Gothenburg, and the fortresses on the Gotha Älf, should be treacherously given up to the Danes. Gustavus soon after set off, unattended, on horseback: the distance was about a hundred miles English. The king proceeded round the eastern shore of Lake Vennern: the Danes were on the west.

It is said he had several hair-breadth escapes of being captured. This is doubtful; the Danes not having passed the Gotha Älf. It

was midnight when, alone and unknown, he arrived at the Gamla port,* and not till after long parlying, could he obtain permission to enter. It was with difficulty he could make the guard believe, that the solitary stranger who demanded admission was their king. He repaired direct to the house of General Duretz, the commandant, who, surprised and confounded at the unexpected appearance of his sovereign, told him that all was lost, and that nothing could save the city from being captured. The king, eyeing him disdainfully, replied, "You mistake, General! I came on purpose to save it." Being greatly fatigued, he required to be shewn to a bed. The embarrassed general could not conceal that he had removed every thing of value! Neither bedding, plate, tables, nor chairs, remained in his house. An English merchant, who lived next door, accommodated the king, by lending him a few essential articles, who, throwing himself undressed on a bed spread upon the floor, probably slept sounder than the commandant.

Gustavus arose very early the next morning. General Duretz appeared to receive his commands. On learning that the king was determined to defend the city to the last extremity, the *loyal* general dropped on his knees, and entreated him to leave a place so little capable of resistance. "The enemy draws near, sire," said he. "This very day, he will summon the city

* The old gate.

to surrender. In case of a refusal, an assault will take place, and your majesty's *sacred person* be too much exposed." — Gustavus heard him in silence, and then said, without any appearance of anger, "Such being your opinion, general, you will of course feel obliged to me for releasing you from the charge of this garrison. Retire, sir, and *follow your baggage!* Count John Sparr is your successor."

The king assembled the magistrates and principal persons of the city. He told them that the Dalcarlians and Wermerlanders were in motion, and coming to their relief. That if they would second his efforts, he had no doubt of repelling the enemy and saving the city; "which," said he, "I regard as one of the most precious jewels in my crown." Charmed by his eloquence, animated by his courage, and, above all, confiding in the efficiency of foreign interference to arrest the progress of the invaders, they readily agreed to second, as far as they could, the king's brave resolve. They gave their carriage, and saddle-horses, to help convey balks and planks to the batteries, none of which were in a proper state of defence, or fit, during a siege, to bear a cannon. Even the ladies appeared on the ramparts, and encouraged their townswomen to aid in works of defence. All ranks of people seemed emulous to surpass each other in sacrifices or exertions to save the place; and a short time sufficed to put it in a condition to prevent its being taken at the first attack.

The general's intelligence proved to be quite correct. In the course of that day (the 5th October) a Danish herald arrived, charged with a letter to the late governor, demanding the surrender of Gothenburg.

Great was his astonishment on being introduced, not to General Duretz, but to the king of Sweden! The herald was dismissed with a message, such as might be expected from the altered situation of affairs.

The king immediately ordered the wooden bridge, built across the Gotha Älf, a few miles above Gothenburg, to be burnt. The omission of the Danes in not securing this important bridge can only be accounted for by supposing that Gothenburg *was sold* ere it was summoned or invested. Gustavus, fully aware of its importance to the enemy, lost not a moment in reducing it to ashes; whilst redoubts were thrown up on every spot where the Danes might attempt to ford the river.

The courts of London and Berlin saw, with marked displeasure, this invasion of Sweden. And the crown prince of Denmark, just as he thought himself secure of victory, and of wresting West Gothland and Scania from Sweden, experienced a disappointment similar to that of Gustavus in Finland. Both those powers instructed their ministers to insist on the Danes agreeing to an armistice, preparatory to withdrawing from the Swedish territories: and in default of immediate compliance, Mr. Elliot

was instructed to menace Copenhagen with the vengeance of the British fleet, and the invasion of Holstein and Jutland by Prussia!

The presence of Mr. Elliot in Gothenburg was scarcely inferior as a stimulant to the courage and loyalty of the inhabitants, than that of Gustavus himself. On the 6th of October, being the day after the city had been summoned, Mr. Elliot wrote a third time, and in a still more urgent tone, to Prince Charles of Hesse, saying, "*At this very moment war is perhaps declared against Denmark by Prussia and England; but if your Highness will consent to what I propose, I will immediately dispatch couriers if possible to stop the invasion of Holstein by a Prussian army, and the sailing of our fleet. Read this letter, I entreat you, to the crown prince. It is written by the ambassador of the king his uncle, by a man wholly devoted to the prince, and who risks his own life to prevent the effusion of the blood of others.*"

It would have been extremely rash and ill-advised if Count Bernstorff had not counselled Denmark to yield to these demands, painful and humiliating as they were. The Russian armies were too fully occupied in Asia for Catherine to be able to spare any efficient aid; and the internal resources of Denmark were by no means equal to the defence of the Danish territories, by land and sea, against the combined attacks of Great Britain, Prussia, and Sweden. If, therefore, Count Bernstorff receded from the policy he had recently advised, it by no means follows that he was

in error. He had before him only a choice of evils: he chose that which appeared the lightest. That it militated against British politics, or British objects, is no proof of its deserving the censures lavished on it by the ministerial press. There was no room for any display of diplomatic talents on the part of Mr. Elliot. All he had to do was to menace Denmark with invasions by sea and land, if she did not order her armies to quit Sweden; and it is highly probable, if the same means had been used two months earlier, that the invasion might, with all facility, have been prevented. The armistice, which was first agreed to on the 9th October, for eight days, and next prolonged for a month, was extended to six months; and on the 12th November, Sweden was evacuated by the invading army.*

"We see, in the miscellaneous transactions of the Swedish campaign, the various and mixed character of Gustavus exhibited upon an interesting theatre. The desire of annihilating, by one spirited and adventurous blow, the odious usurpation of Russia, was laudable and just. But the king did not nicely calculate the different parts of his system; and there is hardly one of his measures that might not have been better timed, or more judiciously executed. He had a great and animating cause to plead against the Czarina; but in his papers upon the subject he mixes right and wrong, truth and falsehood together, and plainly imagines that specious fiction might be of as much service to him as ingenuous truth. His talents, his eloquence, his mild and amiable manners, prepossess us in

Those events do not go to prove the impolicy of the Danish invasion: they merely evince that that awed by superior power, the Danish court was forced to succumb, and relinquish the prize just as it was almost within their grasp: the result was, that the Danes agreed, before winter, to evacuate the invaded provinces, which was accordingly performed. In all the train of embarrassing circumstances that ensued from the unprovoked invasion of Russian Finland by Gustavus, to the relief of Gothenburg, he displayed great wisdom, courage, address, and fortitude. By his personal bravery, his capacity to endure fatigue, his prompt and decisive measures, he defeated the views of his secret enemies, and depressed their hopes in proportion as he excited the spirits and confidence of his own troops.

his favor. We cannot refuse our compassion to a prince of a proud and independent spirit, intrigued against by a foreign minister, dictated to by a neighbour, betrayed by his subjects, deserted by his friends, invaded without hostility—unappalled by all these calamities, flying from one end of the kingdom to the other, rousing the poorest of his subjects to arms; penetrating through the midst of the enemy, and appearing as it were by enchantment to arrest his insulting progress. *But we feel the bitterest regret* to find such a character full of error and imperfection; opposing aristocracy, but grasping at despotism; full of luminous conceptions, but ignorant of the value of truth and integrity; and in all things guided, not by severe and inflexible, but by the precarious ebullition of a transitory feeling."—Vide *New Annual Register*, 1789: *British and Foreign History*, pp. 84, 85.

No sooner had the active and indefatigable king, by personal exertions and powerful mediation, rescued his dominions from the grasp of Denmark, than he bent all his faculties to punish the authors of the revolt in Finland, and by enacting restrictive laws prevent repetition. Gustavus reached his capital on the 20th of December, 1788, and was received with loud acclamations. Every where, in his progress through the provinces of his kingdom, he saw himself surrounded by devoted subjects, whose affectionate demonstrations of loyalty bespoke the enthusiasm that swelled their honest, unsuspecting bosoms.

Gustavus saw, with secret delight, this general and powerful expression of popular attachment. The use he resolved to make of it was not only to punish the Danes, and bring the mutinous officers of Finland to justice, but to widen the breach between the nobility and the peasantry, and, playing off the lowest class against the highest, establish a despotic throne on the utter subversion of popular institutions. Such was the cruelty, perfidy, and ingratitude of this royal dissembler; who, with less mental exertion than it required to support his tortuous purposes and high-wrought deceptions, might have lived and reigned happily and prosperously; and have descended to the tomb, adored by the existing generation, and regarded by posterity with that warm reverence with which the memory of the god-like ALFRED is yet cherished in Great Britain. If Gustavus had laid

the deep and broad foundations of a representative government in Sweden, and had destroyed every vestige of feudality, he would have rendered his throne more secure than when supported by penal laws, and forests of bayonets. The splendor of his talents renders his guilt the greater: for all those brilliant endowments of this monarch that dazzled and infatuated mankind, were but as the fabled *attractions* of a basilisk, that allured but to destroy; or the splendid exterior of some superb and highly decorated mausoleum, a magnificent outside that covered and concealed the disgusting rottenness that festered within!

Notwithstanding the duke of Sodermanland had become a party to the extraordinary capitulation of the revolted army of Finland, the leaders of the mutiny, Colonel Sprengporten,* Hestesko,

* Colonel, afterwards Gen. Sprengporten was a near blood relation to Baron de Sprengporten, minister for foreign affairs in 1788. It was the *treachery* of this person to the oligarchy, that procured the special favor of Gustavus the Third. Mr. Ristel, who well knew the persons whose characters he described wrote thus of Colonel Sprengporten, who was one of the few confidants of Gustavus, in preparing the revolution of 1772, namely:

"Every thing was satisfactory to Colonel Sprengporten, so long as the king had *new marks* of favor to bestow on him, and would take his advice *on every* occasion: but a trifling dispute he had with the officers in the guards, and which the king decided in their favor, because it was just, put him so much out of humour, that he forgot that the king's friendship was *now* more necessary to

and others, thought it advisable to fly for safety within the Russian lines. Meantime, Gustavus found means to arrest a considerable number of officers; and many others having surrendered voluntarily, he caused the whole to be tried before a grand court-martial, which he ordered

him than his to the king; and carried his resentment to an open rupture. He immediately resigned his place; and when the king would not receive his petition for that purpose, and *entreated* him to reflect more coolly on the subject, he left the king in a *fury*, and *flung the paper at the secretary of state*, whom he met on the staircase, and swore a great oath that he never more would put his foot within the king's palace, or have any thing to say to him! He went directly home, and retired to bed, where he remained for the most part of the time he had yet to live, a victim to the rage of disappointed pride, and the torments of a most violent temper.

"The king, justly displeased at his behaviour, granted him his request; and to avoid creating any jealousy in disposing of such a place, his majesty reserved it to himself, and has ever kept it afterwards; leaving all the emoluments to General Sprengporten as long as he lived, and since his death they have been appropriated to the use of the state.

"Thus one of the most active spirits in Sweden found himself reduced to a state of perfect idleness, in the prime of his political life.

"By anger and despair the general was deprived of his reason. He imagined that he felt his heart growing to a greater bulk, and was in perpetual apprehension it would burst. His pain, real or imaginary, was such, that he lay almost in a continual agony, and nothing could give him

to be held in the palace of Frederikshoff, formerly the town residence of Queen Louisa Ulrica.

Amongst the accused were many nobles, whose political opinions were obnoxious to Gustavus; and those were convicted by dubious, if not suborned evidence, and condemned to vindictive and disproportionate punishment. Many of those who had entered into a correspondence with the empress Catherine, were doomed to die; amongst these were the Sprengportens, and Hestesko, but they were already out of the reach of justice. Others were condemned to a destiny more severe; namely, to confinement for life, or for different

relief but music. He had, therefore, a concert every night, and spent most part of his income on splendid suppers, and presents to singers, with other musical virtuosos; but at last the moroseness of his temper became proof even against the charms of harmony. *He professed such a dislike to his fellow creatures, that he would, at any rate, be entirely out of their reach. He was conveyed, almost like a dead corse to a country house, where he enjoyed rather the horrors than the peace of solitude, till his sufferings put an end to his life.**

* What a picture do these sentences give of the interior of the Swedish court, under Gustavus the Third! This depraved monarch was addicted to a most detestable crime. It is known in Sweden, it was that propensity which filled the mind of General Sprengporten with indelible feelings of shame, remorse, and despair; and also gave that impulse of deadly hostility to others of his family, which led them, in Finland, to desert the king's standard and go over to the Russians.

long periods in remote fortresses; a punishment far more cruel than death without torture. Captain Ankarstrom, of the Swedish guards, was included in this class of convicted persons. Admiral Lilljehorn, and General Kaalbert were also condemned, but permitted to retain their pay. In his final decision on the cases of the condemned officers, Gustavus exhibited a strange mixture of apparent mercy and positive cruelty. He threw indelible disgrace on the members of the court, and sullied his own character by leaving too much reason for the world to suppose that he was guided by personal feelings, and made use of a venal and subservient court to destroy men, whose patriotism had led them to expose the errors of his unconstitutional reign.

The vast expenses of the late war, and the financial distress it occasioned, forced Gustavus, however reluctantly, to have recourse to a diet for a supply, rather than risk an open rebellion by arbitrary taxation. During his late tour, the king had too successfully tampered with many of the leading characters amongst the three inferior orders. His minions and agents, by flattery, by promises, and by gold, had wrought on a decided majority to give an unqualified pledge of support, in the ensuing diet, to every thing that the king might desire of them. Thus fully prepared to triumph over the nobles, he convened a diet, the first meeting of which took place at Stockholm, on the 2d of February, 1789. The king's speech

was more than commonly eloquent, and admirably calculated to call forth every latent spark of national pride, and direct it against his foes, foreign and domestic. He was *lavish* in his encomiums on the burgers, the clergy, and the peasantry; and he intimated that for *the sake of unanimity*, he was willing to sacrifice every vindictive feeling. If this were held out as a hint to the nobles, it failed of its desired effect. They were firm, haughty, and inflexible in their resolution, if possible, to controul his ambitious projects. An address, prepared by some agent of the crown, was voted by the three inferior states, conveying their thanks to Gustavus for his recent and great exertions in defence of the kingdom. The nobility, however, peremptorily refused their concurrence, unless accompanied by an additional clause, recommending the conclusion of an immediate peace. On the fifth day of the sittings, the nobles voted an address to the king, calling upon him to institute prosecutions against the authors of various libels, which had been written, relative to the revolt in Finland, and in favor of the sovereign, and to promote the extension of the prerogatives of the crown.

The power of the diet, in all cases of secret discussion, was delegated to a committee, in the composition of which, in the present instance, the crown had too much secret influence. The number of members was thirty. Conscious of the advantages possessed by the king by means of this com-

mittee, the nobles proposed to limit its authority to the discussion of such subjects alone as should be contained in previous instructions from each of the four estates. Gustavus objected to a proceeding that was perfectly constitutional, because it would otherwise have defeated all his deep laid schemes. He therefore commanded Count Löwenhaupt not to put this question to the vote ! Obedient to his sovereign, the obsequious marshal obeyed, and thereby drew down such a storm of indignation on himself, that he declined presiding on the second agitation of the subject. The majority then appointed another marshal, and proceeded to vote the restrictions; by which measure the secret committee were precluded from deciding on the question of war or peace, or meddling with the finances; and the nobles directed their representatives in the committee to report to the diet all such topics as did not, from their nature, require absolute secrecy.

These measures on the side of the nobles, gave rise to such determined opposition in the inferior classes, that all public business seemed to be suspended. Secretly prompted by the king, and aiming at intimidation of the most atrocious kind, the peasants advised his majesty to call in the volunteers of Dalcarlia to the *relief* of the citizens of Stockholm! Those resolute but ignorant rustics, were already arrived within one day's march of the metropolis. Matters being thus prepared to support by force the tyranny Gustavus was bent

on perpetrating, he summoned the four orders of the diet to attend him in the grand saloon of the states. The order was obeyed: the king artfully complimented the zeal and loyalty of the inferior orders, and publicly thanked them for their zeal in assisting him to relieve the distresses of the kingdom. He censured the nobles in the severest terms, for the unceremonious manner in which they had treated Count Löwenhaupt, commanding them to erase the offensive resolutions from their journals, and then to appoint a deputation, at the head of which he expected to see Count Fersen and Baron de Geer, for the express purpose of making a public apology, and what he termed, a signal reparation, to their insulted president!—Such was the mode by which Gustavus reminded the fallen nobles of those indignities which, in other times, they had unfeelingly exercised on his father, Adolf Frederik. The king singled out Count Fersen and Baron de Geer by name, and told them sternly, he considered their treatment of the marshal as a personal insult to himself, whom in their sittings, the count represented. Looking fiercely at Count Axel Fersen, the king exclaimed with great vehemence, "*You have repeatedly shaken the throne of my late father! At your peril dare to touch the sceptre of his son!*"

The count, not at all dismayed, attempted to defend his own conduct; and several other nobles rose to speak in his behalf, but the king would not deign to listen; on the contrary, he

disdainfully waved his hand as a signal for the nobles to retire. Reluctantly and sullenly they withdrew to their usual place of meeting. Count Fersen then proposed that the nobles should look over their journals, to discover, if possible, in what the insult consisted, of which so much had been said; asserting, that they had only used the strongest arguments they could find, which was their unquestionable right, and therefore they could not think of making any apology.

A paper was then produced, signed by nearly forty nobles, specifying several acts of rudeness towards the marshal. Count Fersen arose and denounced those persons by whom it was signed, as false and suborned accusers, and challenged them to support their charge by evidence. Not one could be found hardy enough to make the attempt. Some of those who had signed asked permission to erase their names; others pleaded *inebriety*; or that they knew not the contents of the paper, or had been asked so to do by persons whom they could not disoblige. The nobles, instead of yielding, seemed more determined than ever to persevere in their opposition to the despotic measures of the king; whilst nothing could exceed the base subserviency of the other three orders, which literally outran his wishes. Elated by the insidious compliments paid them by Gustavus, and vain of the confidence reposed in their courage and fidelity, in a hot fit of loyalty, the armed burgers of Stockholm waited but for

a signal to undertake any thing that was required. The king having, on the twentieth, resolved to arrest the refractory nobles; the burgers were ready to fly to execute his will. It did not, however, prove quite so easy or pleasant a task as the good citizens had expected. Colonel Almfelt, who was once a court *minion*, asked a Captain Oldenberg, a *lace-weaver*, in a firm determined tone, to produce the king's order. The captain, rather perplexed, was forced to own that his orders were merely verbal. "I have lately had the honor of commanding the king's horse guards," said Colonel Almfelt sternly, "and I do not intend to suffer myself to be arrested by any dressed-out shop-keeper. Begone, sir, instantly! or I'll blow out your brains." Not wishing to push matters to that extent, the officious sycophant peaceably retired, happy to give up the commission to an officer of the dragoons. Count Fersen was arrested by a party of *gentlemen pensioners*. The court of his hotel was crowded with spectators of all ranks. It was whispered to him that he had a number of friends at hand, if he chose to make resistance. He replied with great calmness, *my conscience is clear, and I fear nothing*. Count Horn, Chief Justice Lilljestraal, Baron de Geer, M'Clean, and many others, were taken without difficulty. The noble captives were carried to the palace of *Frederikshoff*, that had lately been repaired to receive the officers concerned in the late mutiny, and the court-martial that was to try them. The rooms in which the

nobles were lodged, were splendidly furnished; and their tables supplied from the king's kitchen, a favor that was rejected by most of the prisoners, who chose rather to supply themselves. Count Brahe and General Baron Pechlin were allowed to remain in their own houses. At first they were closely watched; a precaution that was altogether needless, as no one offered to fly from this atrocious act of despotism. Far from being appalled, the nobles were more vehement than ever in their reproaches and menaces: and had they not so shamefully abused the power they formerly usurped, when, with one hand they crushed the crown, and with the other plundered and oppressed the people, the king had not dared to have treated them with such indignity. The nobles had, in former diets, trampled on the rights and liberties of the people with much contempt; and they in consequence had become odious to the nation: yet such was the complexion of this outrage, that Gustavus found it advisable to order a report of the state of the metropolis to be laid before him every six hours; it appearing probable, that those who had no manner of respect for the nobles, as a body, were inclined to draw the sword against the despotism by which they were oppressed. During their confinement, they spoke of the king in terms of undisguised contempt and abhorrence, openly accusing him of crimes of so polluted a nature, that even their names cannot be recorded. Affecting magnanimity where selfish

policy and conscious guilt regulated his conduct, Gustavus ordered the secretary not to take cognizance of such expressions. Some of the nobles even presented written charges, which they were entreated to retract. The absence of the servile marshal, in some measure, calmed their minds. Colonel Lilljehorn, the vice-marshal, behaved with great circumspection; but their indignation was not to be appeased. Nor was this spirit manifested in the house of nobles only. Several young noblemen of the first families resigned their employments at court, and in the army; amongst whom were the Counts de la Gardie, Ribbing, and Stenbock. The drawing-room was deserted by the ladies; and the palace of the king became, in a manner, suddenly deserted; all which privations Gustavus endured with admirable philosophy, so much was he delighted with his '*patrician menagerie*,' as he called Frederikshoff, whilst it served as a prison for the confinement of senators and nobles!

This outrage forms an indelible blot in the annals of his reign. It was judiciously observed by an able political writer,* that Gustavus might safely enough have trusted this act of vengeance to the burgers and peasants. He was, however, unwilling to part with so dangerous an authority. He feared "*they might understand liberty too well, and love it too much.*" Gustavus was apprehensive, that when they had deprived the nobles of usurped privileges,

* See the New Annual Register, 1790, pp. 59, 60.

they might demur to surrender the prize that was lawfully their own property, to be used for the increase of the prerogatives of the crown!

The day following the arbitrary arrest of the nobles, amongst whom were included both senators, and members of the secret committee, Gustavus went to meet what was properly to be no longer termed, the assembled estates. He gravely affected to submit to the *consideration* of legislators, of whom many were intimidated and more suborned—the law of '*security* and *union*.' Its '*security*' consisted in lifting the king above the constitution; and its '*union*,' in concentrating all manner of political power in the hands of the monarch! It conferred on the king, the right to declare war and make peace. Future diets were restricted from debating on any subject not previously sanctioned, and presented for their deliberation by the king! It annihilated the senate, an institution, that dishonored as it stood, first by its usurpations, and lastly, by its subserviency—was still venerable in the eyes of the Swedes, having existed almost beyond the reach of history; and on many great emergencies, having rescued their country from situations of great peril and calamity.

The king was competent to cast the chief nobles of Sweden into prison; but he could not intimidate the remainder to permit that pliant tool of despotism, Count Löwenhaupt, to preside as marshal of the mutilated wreck of the peerage. Their language towards the king teemed with

sarcasm and insult. The act of '*union* and *security*' was received with every mark of disdain; nor, during three weeks time, would they take it into consideration. When the king sent a message requiring their decision, the act was almost unanimously rejected. The most respectable of the nobles, finding the popular voice so decidedly against them, and the three inferior orders blindly devoted to the king, and ready to go any lengths to gratify their spleen against the peers, retired to their estates. On the evening of the royal sitting, a meeting of the nobles was suddenly convened, to elect a new secret committee, which, proceeding to immediate operations, usurping the name of the nation to sanction their criminal subserviency, illegally assumed the responsibility of a debt contracted by the crown, amounting to five millions sterling; and they voted additional taxes, amounting to 500,000*l.* per annum; with these unprincipled and venal concessions, the secret committee terminated their unhallowed labors, with a report to each of the four orders of the diet; and their resolutions, which were in fact the resolutions of the king, as a matter of course, were instantly adopted by the clergy, burgers, and peasants. During all this time, the nobles whom Gustavus had illegally arrested, remained in confinement. At the latter end of March, the nobles being deserted by one part of their leaders, and deprived of the talents of those who were confined, Gustavus obtained, by a kind

of compromise, an address from the few who yet attended the sitting. To please themselves, they inserted a clause, recommending the king to make peace: to please the king, they pledged the nobility of Sweden to support the war, in case of '*inevitable necessity*,' of which necessity Gustavus was to be the judge! On the 27th of April, Gustavus went in person to the house of nobles, to wring from the feeble remains of that once formidable assembly, a confirmation of the resolutions of the three inferior orders. With regiments of soldiers and parks of artillery at his command, this king was the gaoler of one part of the legislature, and the corrupter and suborner of the others. He had degraded the nation by elevating his own power above that of the law; and was mean enough to challenge the imprisoned and insulted peers *to argue* the point with him!—a mode of triumph that was alike pusillanimous and cruel. He afterwards boasted that in three hours time he had induced the nobles to consent to propositions, on which, for months together, they had been deliberating to no purpose! The dissolution of this degenerate assembly took place next day. The three inferior orders, in their zeal to elevate the crown, lost sight of national liberty. When, by a formal deputation, the resentful and illiterate clowns, communicated to the nobles their memorable resolutions, and pressed the peers to sanction those measures, Count Axel Fersen

shook his head, and with a look strongly expressive of pity, said, loud enough to be heard by the deputies—"*Poor men! they must be pardoned, for they know not what they are doing.*" These apparently benevolent expressions, were in reality nothing more than the whining cant of a fallen tyrant. The *inferior* orders, as the bulk of every nation is injuriously termed, certainly acted irrationally in losing sight of an opportunity, whereby they might have reduced the exorbitant power of the crown or of the nobles, and have established the liberty of their country. They had the power in their own hands, and they neglected to use it: they were at once the victims of aristocratical oppression, and regal fraud. For the sake of beholding their former tyrants humbled and oppressed, they neglected their duty to God and their country, and permitted the sovereign to approach very near to the establishment of a despotic monarchy. But still, exclusive of the gratification of a rancorous hatred, that had been generated by ages of oppression and misrule, *they gained something by the change;* some of the bonds fastened on their natural rights by the feudal system, being relaxed. Count Axel Fersen was unquestionably a nobleman of great endowments, and high repute as a statesman. Prior to the revolution of 1772, he formed one of the main pillars of the reigning aristocracy. If he had coolly and candidly examined the cause of

the painful and humiliating condition in which the Swedish nobles found themselves, he must have traced its source to their notorious abuse of the usurped power they had acquired; and of whom, to borrow the words of Mr. Leckie, * it might with justice be observed, that as they had for the promotion of their own selfish objects chose to destroy their means of defence, they had no right to complain of being finally deprived of a power which they had not the discretion to use.

It has been too often observed, to need further repetition, that the king was one of the most profound dissimulators in existence; and it is extremely probable that he did not believe there was one honest nobleman to be found in Sweden; or that any public character was proof against flattery, gold, or intimidation. This degraded opinion of the privileged order, and the disgrace into which the nobility had fallen, encouraged him to adopt those measures that can never be justified; and for *legalising* of which, their own sanction was necessary: even this extreme act of self-debasement the king found means to carry by a suborned and intimidated majority, composed of the dregs of the nobility who remained in the diet; to the most powerful of whom he paid personal visits, bestowing marks of favor, and protesting with all possible fervor, that in the harsh measures to which he had had recourse, he had

* Vide Balance of Power in Europe, p. 339.

been exclusively animated by regard to the welfare of Sweden, and not influenced by selfish or ambitious projects! Nor was it in vain that Gustavus whispered in their ear, that *if the nobles did not enjoy as many and as valuable privileges under the new order of things, as under that which had passed away, never to return; it must be their own fault, as the door stood wide open to admit them to a full participation.* Eagerly panting after place and power, unrestrained by any honorable feelings, the venal nobles readily took the hint, sanctioned by their suffrages the king's illegal proceedings, and like fawning spaniels licking the foot by which they had been spurned, they became the creatures of the crown, and thankfully accepted the crumbs that fell from the royal table! According to the author of a portraiture of the court of Sweden,* the great ex-senator, Count Fersen, declared that if he had been king of Sweden, and circumstanced like Gustavus, he would have acted precisely in the same manner! Within three days after the dissolution of this assembly of corrupt and servile legislators, a royal proclamation was issued, by which the oppressed farmers and labourers were released from more of the burthens and restrictions, that during many ages had been slowly and imperceptibly imposed by a cruel, unpitying, and encroaching aristocracy. To divide, weaken, and humble that once formidable phalanx; to oppose

* Mr. C. F. Ristel.

to their power the growing importance of the middle orders; to animate the loyalty, or, more correctly, to stimulate the prejudices of the rude, illiterate, and much injured peasantry, the king surrendered this further portion of those destructive and degrading usurpations that formed the broad basis, and deep foundations of feudal tyranny. Those concessions would have been truly honorable to the character of the king, if they had proceeded from a benevolent source; but they were the result of cold and calculating policy; and if the nobles had proved obsequious as Gustavus desired them, with equal facility and indifference he would have extended their odious privileges at the expense of the population; for he was radically the enemy of democratic institutions, the representative system, and popular rights.

The king having, by the means, and in the manner described, triumphed over a dispirited and degraded aristocracy; he paid the most serious attention to the approaching campaigns. This monarch might, and in common prudence he ought before this, to have made peace with Russia; since every chance of reconquering the provinces that Sweden had formerly been compelled to cede to Russia, had totally vanished; and there was no longer any rational object for which the war ought to have been continued. Gustavus had originally resolved on this war from motives of avarice and ambition. The wild and visionary hopes in which he had indulged, having

all terminated in disappointment, he still resolved to persevere as the subsidised ally of the Grand Signior. The courts of Great Britain and Prussia, anxious to render Sweden subservient to their political views, had recourse to every expedient likely to strengthen this warlike disposition and unwise decision of the king; filling his romantic mind with the most extravagant expectations, whence resulted, in the first instance, a callous and criminal indifference to the additional miseries he was about to inflict upon his subjects, and ultimately, disappointment and ruin.

About this period the influence of Prussian politics at the court of St. James's was predominant over national interests, and liberal principles.* It was *that* influence which encouraged the ambitious, yet weak princess, the wife of William the Fifth, Stadholder of Holland, to urge her husband to the commission of those unpopular measures that endangered his power and even his existence; and who next influenced her despotic brother to pour a strong Prussian army into the United Provinces, to bow the neck of the Belgic Republicans. This nefarious enterprize, the court of London

* Vide New Annual Register, 1790, 1791, and 1792, &c.— "I always was at a loss to conceive what the warlike preparations of Great Britain and Prussia *meant*, and am inclined to think that they had a reference, ultimately, not to Turkey but to POLAND."— (*Letters from Scandinavia, vol. II. p.* 217.) Thus broadly implying that the court of London secretly sanctioned the King of Prussia's selfish views on that devoted kingdom; a thing almost incredible.

fully sanctioned; and its result, which teemed with future calamity, so delighted the admirers of German discipline, that the influence of Prussia became in a manner boundless. It was of vast importance to the views of Prussia, that Denmark should make peace with Sweden, to leave the latter power at liberty to combine all his forces by sea and land in active operations against Russia, in order to embarrass the Empress and cramp her exertions in Asia; which consideration, probably was the real source of the extraordinary instructions given to Mr. Hugh Elliot, and of the scenes that followed in Sweden, wherein the latter acted rather in the spirit of an armed partisan, than as the ambassador of a neutral state.

Whilst the insidious policy of the chief of the House of Brandenburg, backed by the preponderating weight of British influence, induced Gustavus the Third to pursue a line of conduct totally incompatible with the welfare of his subjects; the same crafty prince, in all probability prevented him from availing himself of the opportunity that now offered, of attempting to resuscitate Poland, and rescue that injured nation from the trammels of Russia, and the despotism of the most radically cruel and wicked aristocracy, by which any European kingdom had ever been plundered, insulted, and degraded.

To the vices and follies of that aristocracy, all the calamities that weighed down her former fame and greatness, were owing; from that poisoned

spring all her miseries flowed. According to the statement of a British traveller of deserved celebrity,* the court of London, soon after the accession of George the Third, had a powerful and secret influence in raising the fortunes of the young Count Poniatowski, who appears in his early life to have been used as a political agent by the British minister† at the court of Petersburg; which circumstance, paved his way to an intimacy with the Grand Duke, afterwards Peter the Third, and his frail and fair wife, the celebrated Catherine the Second. The Grand Duke became the patron and protector of Count Poniatowski, who returned his friendship by forming an adulterous connection with his wife! To avoid shame and punishment, to gratify her ambition and amorous propensities, Catherine deprived her lord and husband of his life and crown, and exhibited his corse to the public, that every one might be convinced how very *fairly* the deceased monarch had come by his death; whilst a guard of grenadiers opposed loaded muskets and fixed bayonets to the breast of every intruder, who might dare to approach with a view to investigate the actual state of the royal corse!

Having thus got rid of an unmanageable and troublesome husband, and seated herself on the throne yet reeking with his blood, the Empress

* The Rev. Mr. Coxe.—Vide his Travels, Vol. III. p. 6, &c.

† Sir Charles Hanbury Williams. Vide Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. Vol. I., p. 20 and 21.

Catherine thought of her paramour, Count Poniatowski, not to recall him to partake of her embraces, for the gigantic Orloff supplied his place as a lover, but, as a fit instrument, if placed on the throne of Poland, to complete the degradation and ruin of his native country, and amalgate its territories with those belonging to Russia.

Under the baneful and terrific influence of that blood-stained woman, on the demise of Augustus the Third, in 1763, Count Poniatowski was put in nomination for the crown, and five thousand Russian troops encamped on the plains of Vola,* *secured* his tranquil election by overawing his adversaries; and the venal and suborned nobles, who voluntarily submitted themselves to the Russian yoke, sanctioned by their votes the legitimacy of his pretensions to the crown. The accomplished and graceful minion of Catherine being thus obtruded on the throne of Poland, he was crowned, but not in the usual place; and, as if it were intended as an omen that during his degraded sway the kingdom should pass away, he would not assume the ancient regal costume, but, under an idle pretext of regard to his health, arrayed himself in modern and more elegant robes, made after a foreign fashion. This act rendered him odious to those who think with the Dutch, that the observance of ancient national usages is essential to a

* A plain, near Warsaw, where the election took place.—Coxe, vol. I. p. 23.

nation's honour. Mr. Coxe imputed this impolitic act to the effects of personal vanity: more probably it flowed from the positive command of the foreign princess, to whose power he owed his elevation, and promised implicit obedience.

The nervous and elegant pen of Mr. Coxe has in vain endeavoured to render the memory of this nominal monarch less odious, by imputing the calamities, that immediately after his election overwhelmed and devastated Poland, to the effects of "*the factions of a* TURBULENT PEOPLE."*

* "The description Tacitus has left us of the tribes from whom the Poles are descended, the analogy of other northern nations, and the general tenor of the Polish history, tend to prove that the great body of the people enjoyed an high degree of freedom, as well as a considerable degree of influence on the measures of government."

"The feudal system was introduced into Poland about the year 820; and with it, in all probability, hereditary aristocracy.—The effects of the institution (feudality) were not immediately felt, and therefore were not foreseen. By the continued exercise of command, the nobles ultimately regarded the peasants as *their property.* The difficulty of resisting an authority, which being at first but little felt, arose, by SLOW *accessions and* DISTANT ENCROACHMENTS, *by degrees broke the spirit of the people, and disposed them to* UNRESERVED SUBMISSION.

"The people first felt the consequences of these institutions, in the extinction of their political privileges: they were *excluded* from the diet of election; the abridgment of personal liberty quickly followed; oppressions were multiplied; they were *gradually* deprived of the rights of men, as well as of citizens; the law was too weak, or too corrupt to afford them relief; and they sunk into a state of servitude, from which they have never since emerged.—Casimir the Great restored the peasants to the protection of the law, and restrained the

The '*people*,' in the natural sense of the word, were not recognised in the anomalous government of Poland. The '*people*,' were considered as aliens and outcasts in their native land: they were looked on with scorn and disdain, scarcely acknowledged as human beings, and, for successive centuries, held in feudal bondage and mental darkness. The only influence of the laws made by their oppressors, was to render more complete the degradation of the people, and their state of slavery more

cruel tyranny of the nobles. His humane attention to that unhappy class of men, led the *nobility* to ridicule him, as they thought, by the appellation of "*King of the Peasants.*" By raising the mass of the people to the rank of freemen, he gave them an interest in the welfare of the state. *Had* the prudent and benevolent spirit of his laws been adhered to, Poland must have still continued a great and flourishing nation.—But, after the death of Casimir, the peasants were quickly thrown back into that state of misery and degradation from which he had raised them; their situation even became more deplorable and hopeless, from the attempt that had been made to relieve them; their masters strove to secure their future servitude by all the formalities of legal enactments; pains and penalties were denounced, without limit, against all who should dare to think themselves entitled to the common rights of human nature; their lives and properties were again subjected to the caprices of every gentleman (a nobleman, in Poland,) who chose to indemnify their masters, by a trivial fine, as a compensation for their murder."—Vide Letters from Scandinavia, vol. II. pp. 284, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 294 and 6.—Such is the account given by all writers, and even by the Reverend Mr. Coxe himself, in other parts of his valuable work: it is therefore evident, that the ruin and the fall of Poland were owing to the crimes of the aristocracy, whose overgrown power was fatal to the wretched nation by which it was nourished.

hopeless. The land was without value, except what it derived from their toil, and they were, *by law*, excluded from all manner of property in the soil they tilled; and by their masters merely estimated as so much live stock, and bought, sold, or bartered away by tale, in common with the horse, the ox, or the swine. There never was a complete despotism without the aid of priestcraft. Obedient to the haughty nobles, the servile, ignorant, and intolerant priests, exerted an almost boundless power over a nation of illiterate slaves, and too successfully aided in rivetting the shackles of their merciless tyrants, by teaching the much wronged vassals to believe, that in God himself originated their hard servitude and bitter subjection. The priests not only preached up passive obedience and non-resistance to the suffering millions, but even commanded them, in the name of their Creator, to love and honour their cruel task masters, against whose power they had no earthly shield; against whose injustice there was no appeal, and from whose fierce and implacable vengeance, except the grave—there was no safe place of refuge. No! it was not '*in the factions of a turbulent* PEOPLE,' that the ruin and misery of Poland originated, but in the criminality of a remorseless and rapacious aristocracy, who clothed with patents, titles, privileges, immunities; and armed with absolute power, committed with impunity, those delinquencies by which their native country was dishonoured and destroyed.

In the rapid descent of Poland that followed the elevation of Poniastowski, an opportunity presented itself, that but for the imbecility and perfidy of the king, might by possibility, have led to its final rescue from foreign thraldom and domestic slavery. This dawn of happier days beamed for a moment on the gloomy horizon of Poland, that had so long been clouded by portentous storms; and occurred when Catherine the Second was involved in war with Turkey and Sweden, and was also menaced by Great Britain and Prussia; which events led to the removal of the Russian troops; and the phantom of a king, who was so destitute of regal power that he could not nominate the pages who waited at his table, and who turned pale at a frown from Count Stackelberg,—was relieved by the recal of that minister.

Poland then seemed once more to breathe again; and if Stanislaus had cherished any love for his native country,—if his mind had been visited by any deep workings of remorse, this was the moment he would have seized, to have shaken off for ever the iron yoke of foreign servitude which he had himself been instrumental in establishing. But no such honourable feelings existed in his bosom. Thousands of ruined and degraded nobles openly avowed their errors, and could not conceal their sorrow for the wicked part they had played: the king alone was the

faithful partisan of that lewd woman, whose gold and whose armies had placed a crown upon his head. A strong and pure flame of patriotism arose, and rapidly gained ground in Poland; and many a repentant nobleman made an honest tender of his life and fortune to the crown; but him who wore it was the secret enemy that rendered abortive this last effort which was too feeble to avail, and came too late! It might have had the desired effect in 1772; but Catherine the Second thoroughly knew the character of the man in whose feeble and irresolute hand she had placed the sceptre of Poland. What avails it that his mind was as highly cultivated as Mr. Coxe has described, or his manners ever so mild or graceful, if he were destitute of honesty, courage, fortitude, in short, of every other essential quality of a good sovereign? He certainly had not the courage—and even his inclination may be doubted, to serve Poland; and during its last effort, under the mask of a friendly feeling towards the republic, he secretly abetted the plans of Catherine, and accelerated the period of its final destruction.*

* It was whispered that Sergius Soltikoff was a favoured lover when Catherine was grand duchess. Beloved and happy, he became indiscreet and excited jealousy. The Empress Elizabeth civily banished him from her court, and he died in exile; and STANISLAUS PONIATOWSKI soon caused him to be forgotten. He was at that time envoy from Poland to the court of Petersburg. Being handsome, gallant, and lively, he engaged the affections of the young

Whilst a ray of hope yet beamed on Poland, and the war raged with inveterate fierceness between Russia, and Sweden, and Turky, a magnificent embassy was sent from Poland to Constantinople; but owing to the incapacity of the Turkish ministers, and the secret intrigues excited to defeat

Catherine. Though he was but little addicted to jealousy; preferring his bottle, his pipe, his soldiers, and mistress, to his lovely wife, Peter the Third sometimes interrupted them. It is well known that Catherine, when seated on the imperial throne, rewarded her lover with the crown of Poland. His disastrous reign proved that love in bestowing a crown is as blind as fortune in distributing wealth, places, and titles. If Stanislaus was one of the most amiable of men, he was the weakest of kings. How has it been possible that so pusilanimous a being should have been able to gain the respect of all Europe? By whom has he not been admired? yet, between his sentiments and his conduct, what contradictions? At the last diet, the generous nuncio Kamar said publicly to the king, "What! Sire! are you no longer the same, who said to us when signing the constitution of the 3rd of May, *may my hand perish rather than sign any thing contrary to this!* All Europe charges you with being Catherine's *king*! Justify her, at least, for having put the sceptre into your hand, by shewing that you are capable of wielding it."—Yet, only a few days afterwards the unworthy Stanislaus signed that compact, which, for a second time, dismembered Poland, and by which he formally acknowledged himself *factious* and *rebellious* in establishing a rational constitution, which gave him as a king more authority, and promised his nation more happiness and freedom. If, at this crisis, he had abdicated his throne, he would have excited some sympathy; but he had neither the courage to sustain his rank as a king, nor to resign his crown. He chose rather to drag on an old age of disgrace, and go to die at Petersburg in a state of humiliation. He was the only one of her

its object, it failed of producing any beneficial effect. This was the moment in which the king of Sweden might have interfered with eclat and effect in the affairs of Poland. No where could a Swedish army have made so deep an impression

favourites, whom Catherine having exalted, she felt a pleasure in humbling. Fidelity and gratitude, which appeared for a moment to contend in the heart of the king with gratitude and submission, were crimes in the eyes of the haughty Tzaritza. In love she was indulgent, but in politics implacable; ambition was her ruling passion, and she made the lover subservient to the empress.

"When the Polish nuncio Kamar addressed the feeble king in the manner described; in the midst of his spirited speech he was seized and carried off by those Russian satellites Rothenfold and Pistor, worthy counterparts of the barbarians Kretschetnikof and Kakofsky. Heavens! what names! yet those who owned them were still more harsh and rugged; and these were the two individuals who, in one campaign, conquered Poland, and overturned the constitution of the 3rd of May, which all the nation seemed to defend! Kosciusko! where wert thou at that moment?

"It was not without reluctance that the king of Poland signed the fatal deed. When Sievers conjured him to repair to Grodno to head the confederates, he said, *I will never be guilty of such baseness!* Let the empress take back her crown! Let her send me to Siberia! or let me quit my kingdom on foot with my staff in my hand; but I will never sully my honour! He was *confined*, *kept fasting*, *threatened*, and then he placed himself at the head of the confederacy! It was Colonel Stackelberg, nephew to Ingelstrom, who finally carried to him the treaty of partition. On reading it, Stanislaus exclaimed—"*Oh, sir! have mercy on me! let me not be forced to sign my own dishonour!*" Stackelberg told him, that after this sacrifice he might enjoy a happy and tranquil old age; wiping his eyes, the king replied—"Well, I will hope so!" but his niece entering, he again wept bitterly with her.

on Russia, as it might in Poland.* But here the treacherous councils of Catherine's secret agent, General Baron Armfelt, interfered; who held up before the eyes of the brave and chivalrous king, the fascinating and illusive prospect of acquiring immortal fame by the destruction of the imperial naval establishments at Cronstadt, and the capture of Petersburg! This splendid illusion drove Poland from his mind; and whilst the royal Swede was thus led astray by inordinate ambition, and an immoderate desire of fame as a warrior, the Prussian monarch never lost sight of his darling project of dismembering Poland, and attaining the largest possible share of its remaining territories. It was to accomplish this design that the selfish and perfidious monarch raised powerful

"During the reign of the Emperor Paul, that strange mortal used to amuse himself with parading in the state apartments with the imperial crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, and the imperial mantle on his shoulders, as the Jewish kings are represented in old tapestry. The unhappy Stanislaus was in the emperor's train: bending under the weight of years and sorrow: whilst three or four hundred court slaves were kissing the hand of Paul, he retired to a room to rest himself by sitting down: the emperor perceiving that the ex-king had presumed to seat himself during this *august ceremony*, he sent an aid de camp to ORDER him to keep on his legs." Vide Secret Memoirs of the Court of Petersburg, vol. i. p. 100 a 103.

* The author of the Characters, &c. of the Court of Sweden, remarked that a far more advantageous use might have been made of the army employed in Finland, if it had been landed in Livonia. This omission showed a great deficiency as to political foresight in the king.

armies which he marched towards Poland, pretending they were meant to act against the Russians! Perhaps he even stipulated that Gustavus the Third should attack Russian Finland, whilst he marched his numerous and well appointed armies to invade the dominions of Russia in Poland! Gustavus, with all his wit and talent, became the dupe of a brother monarch of far inferior intellects, and frittered away in unavailing enterprizes a potent army amidst the rocks and wildernesses of Finland. The king of Prussia* deliberately violated his engagements with the Polish patriots; arranged his differences with the empress; and, in conjunction with Russia and Austria, seized upon the remaining territories of Poland; whilst Sweden, by the manœuvres recited, was prevented from availing herself of the opportunities that presented themselves, from interfering to avert its fate.

Returning from a digression occasioned by the intimate connexion of the subjects it embraces, with

* "It is difficult to penetrate into the secret motives of arbitrary princes; and hence it must be allowed, a great part of histories, especially of those that aim chiefly at amusing the reader, by pretending to account for every thing, is wholly chimerical. Yet, judging of the court of Berlin, by a fair and obvious analogy, it is not unreasonable to conclude that in encouraging the formation of this new constitution, it had in view, according to their usual policy, to excite the jealousy and resentment of Russia; thus to prepare for a second and complete partition of Poland."—Letters from Scandinavia, vol. II. note to p. 420 and 421.

the great changes that have since taken place in the relative influence of each of the northern courts; the author proceeds to state, that as the spring of 1789 approached, the courts of Sweden and Denmark seemed equally desirous of protracting, or rather renewing the war, that was suspended through the imperious commands of Great Britain and Prussia. During the existence of the armistice between the two belligerent states, a plot was discovered by the court of Denmark, formed, as Count Bernstorff publicly affirmed, by a Swedish nobleman, and under the sanction of Gustavus the Third, and his minister at Copenhagen, to destroy, by means of mercenary incendiaries, the Russian and Danish ships of war then lying in that port. The crown prince complained with equal justice and indignation of this breach of public faith, and sarcastically remarked, that a monarch who was capable of acting in this atrocious manner, had no right to censure the *want of morality* in others. The resentful spirit of the young Danish prince was caught by the nation, which appeared anxious to chastise the Swedes, and cheerfully to contribute the means of carrying on the war with vigour.

Meanwhile, feeling confident in the amplitude of his power, and panting for glory and revenge, Gustavus the Third threw every obstacle he could devise to frustrate the pending negociations; and he omitted no opportunity of manifesting the contempt he felt towards the crown prince, his

nephew. But, from the powerful influence of England and Prussia, each of the angry chiefs was compelled to succumb; and the last armistice ended in a compulsory and unwelcome peace between Sweden and Denmark, on the principle of the *statu quo ante bellum.*

It is exceedingly probable, that in the coarse treatment experienced by Denmark, the cabinet of London wished to make that nation feel its resentment for the wound its pride had received by the celebrated armed neutrality of the northern nations; and, although Gustavus was apparently the favored party, yet, he too was made to writhe under the pressure of superior power; and when he haughtily declared to Mr. Elliot he would not allow any foreign dictation, nor be compelled to make peace with the Danes, the Englishman is said to have bluntly replied, that if his majesty was determined on resuming the war with Denmark, he had orders to quit his court, and announce the immediate commencement of hostilities against Sweden! Notwithstanding the maturity of age, the wider range of experience, and the high repute of Gustavus for political sagacity, the conduct of his young nephew at this crisis, was marked by superior dignity and consistency; displaying a more powerful and elevated mind than was allowed by the ministerial writers in London, who affected to consider the nephew of their sovereign as a driveller and an ideot. When he found that he could not gratify his own and the nation's wishes to con-

tinue the war against Sweden, without increasing the number and power of his enemies, he agreed to sign a treaty of peace; but he positively refused to ratify the treaty till the empress of Russia had formally released him from his alliance with her; for which purpose, the armistice of 1788, that expired in May, 1789, was prolonged for two months. Flattered by this mark of respect and proof of sincerity, the empress magnanimously released Denmark from its alliance with Russia, and, as far as externals went, peace was restored between Sweden and Denmark.

The Ministerial press in London, imputed this concession on the part of Catherine the Second, to the dread inspired by the menaces of Great Britain and Prussia: although that ill-sorted alliance might have *some* weight, the empress, probably was suspicious that notwithstanding the near blood relationship that existed between the King of England and the Crown Prince of Denmark, the ministers would have no objection to the plunder of the Danish naval arsenals, and making prize of the Danish ships of war. She, therefore, yielded without hesitation, to the lesser evil, consoling herself with the hope that if England and Prussia had deprived her of a valuable and honest ally; by the aid of General Armfelt, and other secret agents, she should soon be able to get rid of Sweden as a foe, and thus frustrate the great and favorite object of Great Britain and Prussia. There is no doubt but Gustavus felt himself

greatly piqued at the domineering tone assumed by Mr. Elliot, whose services, in preventing the capture of Gottenborg, were quickly forgotten. Gustavus had also personal motives for feeling offended with the court of St. James's. He had caused it to be signified to certain great personages in England, that the investiture of the order of the garter would be peculiarly agreeable to the King of Sweden; a wish that was not met by the expected condescension; and Gustavus, who could occasionally depart from his usual elegance of manners, told Mr. Elliot, that no claims were attended to of that nature, unless backed by the mercenary influence of "*the ——'s beggarly relations!*" The fact, perhaps, was, that the British cabinet was secretly pleased to see the Northern powers worry and destroy each other, and that the order of the garter was withheld,—and the Swedish king treated with so little ceremony,—to avenge on Gustavus the Third, the part he had acted in the armed neutrality of the North. If so, the politics of London were founded on false principles, and shewed the baleful influence of a narrow, contracted, and illiberal mind. True wisdom would have prescribed a rule of action the very reverse of this grovelling and wretched policy. Gustavus being thus heartily disgusted, would instantly have made peace with Catherine, if he had not been furnished by an English agent with the particulars of some personal sarcasms levelled at his

character by the empress, at the Hermitage, which galled him the more severely as his conscience told him they were too well founded. This feeling, and this alone, prevented him from adopting the council of General Armfelt, and concluding a treaty of peace with Russia. And thus was Gustavus the Third used as a puppet by foreign powers, and moved to and fro by foreign hands, just as the oligarchy had been which he had overthrown; and Sweden, under the appearance of a mixed or constitutional monarchy, became alternately the victim of foreign policy, or the errors of an accomplished, but profligate king.

## CHAP. III.

*Renewal of the war in Finland.—The campaigns of* 1789 *and* 1790.—*The ruin of the Swedish navy.—Sudden conclusion of peace.—Anecdote of the Empress Catherine and a pug dog.—Catherine the Second subsidises Gustavus the Third.—His intrigues against the French nation.—Anecdote of Mr. Pitt, related by William Augustus Miles, Esq.—Gustavus the Third goes to Spa.—Prepares to make war against France.—The death of the king resolved on.—Circumstances attendant on his assassination.—Anecdotes relative to the conspirators.—The death of Gustavus the Third.*

PEACE, if not amity, being thus restored between Sweden and Denmark, the work of havoc and slaughter was renewed in Finland, as soon as the winter of 1789 broke up. The local consequences of warlike operations are always terrific; but more peculiarly so in a sterile province, where the productive powers of the soil are so feeble, that the most favorable seasons in the bosom of peace, did not at this period bring forth a sufficiency of bread-corn to serve the thinly scattered population; and where the ravages of a single campaign required the labours of an age of tranquillity to replace its waste.

The history of the military movements afford

but little interest for foreign readers. The first enterprize was led by General Baron Stedingk, towards Nyslot. On the 5th of June, 1789, the king arrived in Finland, and put himself at the head of the chief division of the Swedish army. The plan of the campaign that was formed by this monarch, bespoke the daring character, rather than the military science of its projector, namely, the capture of the strong fortresses Nyslot, Frederikshamn, and Wiborg, by the army; of Hogfors and Cronstadt, by the grand fleet, assisted by a powerful fleet of gun-boats; and lastly, for the fleet and army to co-operate in the reduction of the proud metropolis, founded by Peter the Great! Notwithstanding the skill and devotion displayed by General Stedingk, and his brave and well-disciplined troops, he sustained a serious check at St. Michel's; was forced to retreat; and the Russian troops made an irruption into the province of Savilax. The king was at first successful, and he gained a victory of importance (the scale of operations considered) over a Russian army, near Davidstadt; and once more, at the head of his troops, found himself before the fatal walls of Frederikshamn. Meantime, before the king had time to reduce the fortress, or attempt again to carry it by storm, the Prince of Nassau Siegen arrived to relieve Frederikshamn, with seventy Russian gallies under his command. The fort was blockaded on the sea line by fifty Swedish gun-boats; which fleet, on the 24th of August, was

attacked by the Russian galleys, and a most desperate and murderous conflict ensued: both sides claimed the victory, but the advantage evidently rested with the superior force. The result of this battle raised the blockade of Frederikshamn, and considerable supplies, and a powerful reinforcement of troops were thrown into the fortress; in consequence of which events the king of Sweden was forced again to raise the siege precipitately, and was followed by the Russians, and greatly harrassed on his retreat into Swedish Finland. The short remainder of the campaign was consumed in mutual attacks and skirmishes, without any other result than a slaughter of men, and the desolation of the Swedish province. Such was the indecisive termination of the campaign in Finland; at the end of which, Nyslot, Frederikshamn, Wiborg, Petersburg, and Cronstadt, all remained in quiet possession of Russia, though in the palace of the Czars the thunder of the Swedish artillery was said to have been distinctly heard. On the 1st of September, the king of Sweden suddenly appeared in Stockholm, and frustrated, by his unlooked for presence, the design of convening a diet without his privity or consent.—That the projects of the king were betrayed to his foe, is extremely probable; suspicion fell upon General Kaulbart, but more probably the *chief* traitor was no other than General Baron Armfelt, by whom the plans of Gustavus the Third were betrayed to the Russians.

The naval operations of 1789 were carried on with tolerable spirit, during the months that the Baltic sea was open, and with alternate success. On the whole, perhaps, the Swedes had the advantage, but the result was by no means decisive. On the 26th July, the grand fleets of Sweden and Russia had a general action off Bornholm, in which both fleets sustained very heavy loss, and it ended in a drawn battle. The duke of Sodermanland, who commanded the Swedish fleet, enraged at being disappointed of the glory he had expected to acquire that day, complained loudly of treason, and caused one of his rear-admirals to be arrested; nor did he complain without cause, for so great was the deficiency of gunpowder in the Swedish fleet, there was not half the proper supply, and if the action had lasted one hour longer, most of the ships must have surrendered to the foe, solely from the want of ammunition. The last naval action of importance, took place before Frederikshamn, when both fleets suffered prodigiously, and the Russians, though victors, acquired but little glory in a triumph obtained over an enemy so greatly inferior in strength.

The military campaign of 1790, between Sweden and Russia, produced no event of striking importance; but the NAVAL CAMPAIGN was more than commonly interesting. In the year 1796, a work was published, in two volumes, octavo, entitled "*Letters from Scandinavia,*" the 53d of which contains an animated detail of the different naval

actions that occurred. The writer of these pages, as he could not improve its interest, and relying on its authenticity, has inserted the whole letter as a note. It contains many brilliant traits of British valour, to which he respectfully refers his reader:* all he has to offer as he proceeds with

* " The Swedes commenced the naval campaign of 1790, so early as the month of April, with an attack upon the Russian town called Baltic Port, near the mouth of the gulph of Finland, which they laid under contribution. About the same time the Swedish galley fleet at Helsingfors sailed towards Fredrikshamn, where lay the flotilla of Russia, but in no condition to receive an enemy. The Swedish admiral, notwithstanding so fair an opportunity offered to make an easy prey of the Russians, delayed the attack for two days.

" During this time the Russians added several more galleys, which were unrigged at the arrival of the Swedes, to their fleet. The Swedes, after an obstinate engagement, took every vessel opposed to them, being much superior in number and force. Had the Swedes commenced the attack instantly upon their arrival, it is uncertain but the fortress of Frederikshamn would have fallen into their hands. This unpardonable neglect gave time to receive a reinforcement of troops into the garrison; and the besiegers, as if determined to prove their folly, made an attack upon the town with only a small part of their fleet. Their ships and men were nearly destroyed.

" The capture of the Russian galleys was a heavy blow. The news of it, however, only excited the greater activity in the Russians. The empress gave orders that another fleet should be built and ready for sea in a few weeks!

his narrative is, that after a succession of fierce and sanguinary naval combats, in which the hostile nations reciprocally displayed the highest degree of courage and devotion, and committed the grossest

The mallet resounded upon the banks of the Neva and at Cronstadt, and this new fleet of small armed ships and gun-boats was actually ready in a few weeks.

" The Swedes had formed the best plan possible for annihilating the Russian navy, and must have nearly, or altogether, succeeded; but owing to some infatuation and irresolution, or perhaps disaffection of many of their officers, they totally failed of success. The attack upon Baltic-Port was not followed so soon as it ought to have been by another upon Revel. In this instance again they gave the Russians notice to prepare themselves; and every expedition was used to fit out the Russian squadron lying at Revel, and consisting only of ten sail of the line, and three or four frigates.

" The harbours of Cronstadt and Revel cannot, separately, contain the whole of the Russian navy; and as the latter harbour is seldom frozen up, the Swedes could, either in March or April, have attacked the squadron lying here, while the greater part of the Russian fleet were frost-bound at Cronstadt.

" The duke of Sudermania, with twenty-two sail of the line, appeared before Revel. The ships under Admiral Tchitchigow lay in the best position, and with springs upon their cables. The enemy's fleet entered the harbour. The headmost of them received the raking fire of the Russians as they advanced; and the wind coming contrary, and two of the Swedish ships getting aground, made it advisable for the others to retreat. The Russians captured one of the vessels; the other was burnt by her own crew. If the duke of Sudermania could depend upon his men and

blunders, the war terminated with the celebrated battle at Svensk-Sund, where Gustavus commanded the Swedish fleet in person, and where he also gained a complete and brilliant victory

officers, why did he not renew the attack some future day, instead of proceeding to Cronstadt to attack a fleet nearly equal in force to his own, and with a certainty too of being followed by the Revel squadron? When he failed in beating a small fleet, why proceed to attack a greater, and in a situation more difficult of approach than Revel? It is true, the Russian fleet at Cronstadt lay in the harbour unrigged. It does not, however, appear that the duke knew this circumstance, and he slowly proceeded for Cronstadt, expecting to find the Russian ships prepared for him. What negligence was it, not to procure better information? When the royal commander arrived within sight of Cronstadt, the Russian fleet was indeed prepared to meet him, and the Revel squadron was at his heels. Thus the duke seems to have courted the destruction which awaited his fleet.

"The Swedish galleys, that had lately proved victorious at Frederikshamn, joined the grand fleet, and approached Cronstadt at the same time. The grand scene of action was begun, in which the ancient maritime power of Sweden was, by a series of misconduct and unforeseen events, to be totally overthrown; to be destroyed without being conquered, or rather without being beaten.

"The Russian squadron at Cronstadt, consisting of seventeen sail of the line, seven of them of 100 guns, which had been equipped with the most astonishing expedition, sailed under the command of a German officer, Admiral Kruse, and were in a few days followed and joined by eleven light frigates, and armed ships, commanded by an Irish officer, Captain Dennison.

over the Russian frigates and galleys, commanded by the Prince Nassau. The combined effect of all these battles, and particularly *that* in Wiborg-bay, was the destruction of many thousands of

" The Russian fleet lay at anchor, after leaving Cronstadt, off Crassna Gorca, a point of land several leagues distant from Cronstadt, in an irregular line of battle. Next day after the junction between the grand fleet, and the frigates, the Swedish fleet was discovered to windward, bearing down, favored by a westerly wind, in a line of battle, consisting of twenty-three sail of the line and thirteen frigates. The Russian admiral directly threw out the signal to form the line. Both fleets continued under sail all that night without coming to action, and were in the same position to each other in the morning. The weather was hazy: the wind shifted to the eastward, and the Russian fleet bore down upon the Swedes, engaging with seventeen ships, a line of battle opposed to them of thirty-six sail: the whole of the Swedish frigates having formed the line with the greater ships. Both fleets were upon the same course, on the starboard tack.

" Captain Dennison remained with the squadron of frigates in reserve, and watching the motions of the Swedish galley fleet, which hovered about at no great distance. Anxious to distinguish himself, and having discretionary power to act as he saw best, he determined to bear down upon the centre of the Swedish fleet, and to engage them. At this moment he observed the Swedish van attempting to double upon the Russian line of battle. This officer instantly bore down upon the van of the enemy; and, though supported by only two of his frigates, the others not coming to close action, he succeeded in preventing the intended manœuvre of the Swedes. The whole of the Swedish fleet bore away about six o'clock in

the best seamen that Sweden possessed, and of full two-thirds of all the Swedish line of battle ships and frigates; a terrible blow on the maritime power of Sweden, which it has never yet recovered, and

the morning, after a harmless fight of two hours continuance.

"In the afternoon of the same day, the wind again changed to the west. The Swedish fleet bore down again in a line of battle abreast upon their enemies, who waited for them in a line of battle a-head. This engagement lasted four hours. The Russian frigates were not much engaged in this battle. The Russian fleet yielded the victory to the Swedes, and retreated towards Cronstadt, with a view of drawing the enemy into narrow channels, where they could not employ all their ships.

"The hostile fleets remained near each other without fighting, until the afternoon of the second day, when, after an action of nearly the same continuance as the former, with as little effect, the Russians again gave way. The Swedish fleet did not pursue in either battle: they could not without imminent hazard from the surrounding shoals near Cronstadt, and it was not the business of Admiral Kruse to court a close engagement with a superior force.

"He waited the coming of the Revel squadron under the Russian commander in chief. The duke of Sudermania, dreading the approach of this division while he remained so near the shoals of Cronstadt, and to be caught between two fires, desisted from any farther attack upon Admiral Kruse, and sailed with a view of intercepting the Revel squadron, then hourly expected.

"Admiral Kruse then followed the enemy; but first got sight of the other division of the Russian fleet under the Siscar islands. The Venus frigate, Captain Dennison, the same day made the signal for seeing the Swedish

probably never will: and the war itself was immediately terminated by a treaty, wherein each power retained the same territories that it had possessed at its commencement!—Meantime,

fleet steering towards Wiborg bay, which lies to the westward of the Siscar islands, and consequently, they were past and clear of the Russian united fleet, and might have proceeded in safety to their own harbour of Sweaborg. The Russian fleet being at the same time under sail, pursued the enemy, and soon arrived off the bay where the Swedes had taken refuge. The Swedish fleet were seen lying at anchor in a line of battle. Two narrow channels led into this bay, which were guarded by several large ships.

"The Russian fleet kept under weigh that night; and next day Captain Dennison was ordered with his frigates into the outward bay to sound; and finding the roadstead safe for the largest fleet, the whole came to an anchor, immediately without the Swedish fleet, and nearly within gun-shot of each other: some banks and rocks separated them. Two line-of-battle ships with the squadron of frigates, were stationed to guard the channels where the Swedish guard-ships lay.

"The duke of Sudermania had seen the Revel division as he sailed from Cronstadt, and had determined to engage it. The Swedish fleet were seen by several English merchant ships, making towards the Revel squadron, and even using oars, and having boats a-head of every ship, towing them nearer their enemies. The Swedish officers and crews were in the highest spirits, and the air rung with their shouts. The common sailors and soldiers of the Swedes were enthusiastically fond of a sovereign who accompanied them in all their dangers; and they frequently declared they would follow wherever

Gustavus the Third, assuming an exulting aspect, returned to Stockholm in triumph; and, notwithstanding all his errors and losses, so greatly was his daring courage admired by the loyal citizens,

he led. *He led them to destruction.* Gustavus, endowed with the most heroic courage, did not possess with this, the qualities requisite in a great commander. Fearing nothing, he gave his orders precipitately, without looking forward to the consequences.

" He ordered his fleet to cease the pursuit, and to go into the bay of Wiborg, for the purpose of protecting his galley fleet, who were arrived near it, at a place called Biorka Sound. Did his Swedish majesty not know that there was no Russian galley fleet to attack them, and that no other could do it. The Russian grand fleet could not pursue small boats near the shore, among the Finland rocks. Prince Nassau, at this period, was at Cronstadt, and the galley-fleet not yet collected together. What little pains had Gustavus taken to procure intelligence which would have saved both his fleets!

" The Swedish galley fleet was engaged in the battles off Cronstadt. It approached that end of the Russian line stretching towards Carelia, and annoyed the Russian ships, who, could not hurt, in their turn, such small objects: it consisted of sixty-eight vessels. The Russian frigates chased them into shore, but the westerly winds favored their escape; at the same time that the Swedish grand fleet retreated.

" Without provisions, and, it is reported, with no large quantity of powder and ball, King Gustavus ordered his navy into an enemy's harbour, surrounded by an enemy's country and superior fleet! Yet, from all these difficulties, amidst all these dangers, he might have escaped, had not some unfortunate accidents occurred.

that the air resounded with universal plaudits, and he was hailed as a conqueror and a pacificator!

Thus terminated the war between Sweden and Russia! All the high wrought anticipations

"The whole Swedish naval force were at this moment surrounded by the navy of Russia. The existence of Sweden as a naval power was to be decided in a few days, and hung upon the cast of a die! Admiral Tchitchigow dispatched a courier to her imperial majesty, then at Zarsko Zelo, with news of this critical situation of the enemy. Catharine, agitated with hope and fear for the event, observed upon the uncertainty of fate. The courier, a young English lieutenant, forgetting the august presence he was in, exclaimed, "By God! we have them, madam! not a ship can escape us!" Her majesty smiled, and thanked him for his good wishes for the success of her arms.

"The flotilla commanded by the prince Nassau was not yet ready. A part of this armament lay at anchor near Cronstadt, waiting for the gun-boats and other vessels fitting out at Petersburg. I had occasion to pass several times between Cronstadt and Petersburg by water, during this period. I beheld small divisions of this newly created fleet, rowed by their crews in their voyage to Cronstadt. The sight of these row-boats filled with slaves at the oar, and with soldiers bristling with armour, exhibited the appearance of piratical adventures. The gulph resounded with the strokes of oars, and with the songs of the crews.

"Both the grand fleet and galley fleet of Sweden were crowded with soldiers; and many of the transports had horses on board, to the number of two or three hundred. While they remained in Wiborg bay, several fruitless attempts were made to penetrate into the country;

and vast designs of Gustavus, successively vanished. Instead of entering Petersburg as a conqueror, he had a narrow escape from being escorted thither by a revolted army as a captive, for what purpose, I cannot guess, unless to obtain provisions at all risks. The Russian fortress of Wiborg, and the numerous land forces of Russia on shore, were not to be conquered by such small numbers of troops, and these starving for want of food. The king at last saw his error; but not until the arrival of Prince Nassau with the Russian flotilla, which added another difficulty to his escape; and at a time too when his seamen and soldiers were disheartened by famine and misfortune of all sorts.

"The Russian galley fleet were joined upon their arrival by Captain Dennison's squadron of frigates; and an attack was meditated upon the Swedish flotilla lying at Biorka Sound. This last consisted of about sixty sail, mostly gun-boats. The gun-boats are small open vessels, carrying one piece of cannon in their bows, and another in their stern.* The attack of the Russians commenced in the night, two days after the arrival of their galleys. The prince had perhaps suspected an attempt of the Swedes to retreat that night, and wished to come to blows before they got away; or otherwise the attack was ill advised, seeing the frigates in the dark would not venture near the shore, and among rocks, to support the gun-boats.

"This fight was nothing more than a firing at random, amidst the clouds of night. The hostile fleets only saw each other by the flames from the mouths of the cannon, which served for torches. The fire of the frigates was at too great distance to do any execution; and the Prince

* In 1808 the Swedish gun-boats carried a 68-pounder on a platform in the prow; and two smaller guns in the stern; the people are all exposed: there are no bulwarks to send off the shot.

and delivered up to Catherine! Instead of acquiring the sovereignty of the Baltic sea, his unpardonable folly and rashness at Wiborg bay involved the navy of Sweden in destruction!

Nassau, ever eager to distinguish himself, but not versant in sea affairs, reprobated Captain Dennison for not hazarding all his vessels in this blind-man's-buff engagement.

"The Swedish flotilla had, previously to this fight, received orders from the king to be in readiness for a retreat the first favorable wind. An easterly breeze in the morning was instantly seized for this purpose; and to retreat, not only from famine, but from a superior force, the signal was given. The Swedish galleys retreated by a channel near the shore, and were pursued by the Russian galley-fleet and frigates. The grand fleet of Sweden cut, and stood out of this fatal bay by another channel, more distant from the coast: and the Swedish transports by a third channel within both these. The channel by which the Swedish galley-fleet and small frigates ran, was guarded by several Russian light frigates. This retreat was however well conducted; and, although several gun-boats were taken, the greater part effected their escape to Frederikshamn, after being pursued by the Russians as far as Hogland.

"The Swedish gun-boats were manned with sailors, and were an overmatch for the awkward Russian peasants who rowed in pursuit of them.

"The Swedish transports were less successful in their retreat. Sailing too near the shore, to avoid the shot of the gun-boats and frigates, many of them got aground, and several threw the horses of the dragoons overboard in vain, to lighten the barks, and to get off again. The most of the transports, their cargoes, their crews, and the soldiers, fell an easy prey to the Russians. Gustavus from

Instead of wresting Finland, Courland, or Livonia, from Russia, he narrowly escaped seeing his kingdom shorn of Gothenborg and the western provinces of Sweden. He *consumed* army after

the deck of his yacht, in which he accompanied the galley-fleet, saw the misfortunes of his navy and other vessels, without being able to relieve them. This royal hero, retreating in a small yacht, had several of his subjects killed by his side; and the vessel was so shattered by a shot that he was obliged to leave her, and go on board another small vessel. One of the crew was wounded in the arm—the king tore the order of Vasa from his shoulder, and bound up the wound. Had the particular vessel been known in which the king was, he would have been easily taken, and brought prisoner to Catharine.

"The Russians had stationed five ships of the line in the outward and main channel, under the command of a Russian officer. These five, with springs upon their cables, were to oppose the whole Swedish grand fleet as they passed; while the rest of the Russian ships under Admiral Tchitchigow remained idle spectators. The Swedish fleet though proceeding with a fair wind, were severely galled by the raking fire of the five Russian men of war. One Swedish ship got aground before she had passed the Russian guard-ships; but all the rest of the Swedish navy passed in triumph; and the officers were congratulating each other upon their success, when evil mischance suddenly brought upon them calamity and defeat.

"The Swedes had prepared two fire-ships, whose commanders had directions to set them on fire when they saw that all the Swedish fleet had passed that of Russia. One of these blew up without doing any harm to the enemy. The other was avoided as she approached in

army in fruitless enterprizes; yet, because he was victorious at Svensk-Sund over the galley fleet of Russia, Gustavus assumed the lofty port of a conqueror, and entered Stockholm in triumph!

flames towards the Russian guard-ships, by their slipping their cables. A Swedish ship of the line was not a great distance a-head of this fire-ship, into whose sails the flames attracted the wind, and she rapidly approached the Swedish man of war, which, owing to the narrowness of the channel, could not avoid her. The fire-ship ran aboard of her, set her instantly in a blaze, and this ship, the finest in the fleet, was blown up, and every person in her, one excepted, perished.

"The smoke of the late engagement, rendered more thick by this explosion, was carried by the winds, and involved five or six of the Swedish fleet then directly a-head of the wreck. The consequence was their running aground. Another had got ashore near the Swedish guard-ships, prior to the accident; and after she had passed them. Thus eight or nine sail of the line had only to be picked up by the Russians. Captain Dennison took possession of the first vessel, which got aground as she lay at anchor, or soon after she had cut in Wiborg bay. I had frequent conversations with the captain of this ship, whose name is Trutiger. He gave me a plan of the situation of both fleets. Though he rejoiced at the escape of a considerable part of the Swedish fleet, he confessed, that, had the Russian admiral made a better disposition of his fleet, not a ship of his nation could have escaped: and the disposition was, simply, to have crossed the channel with two or three lines of guard-ships, with springs upon their cables, every one of which lines, so advantageously stationed, must have so disabled the Swedish fleet in passing, as to have rendered them incapable of resisting the remainder of the

Such was the haste with which the treaty of Verela was concluded, that, except the termination of hostilities, every other topic of negociation was deferred for future arrangement. General

Russian navy, and which ought to have been waiting at the mouth of the channel to receive the enemy as they attempted to fly. Instead of such a judicious plan, only five ships were opposed to twenty-two or twenty-three of equal force with themselves; and the Russian fleet in the outward bay of Wiborg had not cut or slipped their cables, even when the remaining fifteen ships of the Swedes had passed the line of guard-ships.

"The second man of war which grounded after passing the Russian guard-ships still continued firing at the enemy, until all the other ships of the Swedish navy had got clear; when she struck her colours. The Swedish officers of the vessels which ran ashore complained, in some conversations I had with them, that the Russians continued firing into them, even when they lay aground and their colours struck. This must have been owing to the confusion, and from their being indistinctly seen through the smoke.

"The second Swedish ship that went ashore, was lost to the Russians through some mismanagement. She lay upon the edge of a bank; and in the attempt to get her off, she upset or tumbled over, whereby many Russians, as well as Swedes, were drowned. Four ships of the line were brought to Cronstadt; the other two were wrecked where they lay.

"In the chase of the Swedish grand fleet, two more ships of the line were taken and carried into Revel, with one or two frigates; in one of these was the Swedish rear admiral Leanker, who made a very obstinate defence against two Russian ships of the line. Thus were destroyed or taken from the Swedes in the course of three months,

Baron Armfelt was the secret cause of this hasty reconciliation. It has been fully ascertained that the court banker, Baron Sutherland,* was the agent, by whom, at an early period of Arm-

two ships at Revel, eight in Wiborg bay, and two more in the chase, in all twelve ships, of from 60 to 70 guns. The relics of the Swedish navy, thirteen sail, took refuge in Sweaborg, where, had they gone about five weeks

* At a period of deep and general commercial distress, this Baron Sutherland, though possessed of ample assets, had felt his credit n danger from the immense failures that had occurred in every mart in Europe. The empress Catherine being informed of his difficulties, and from his immense concerns, apprehending that the credit of all her merchants would be affected by his failure; and having had the best proofs of his solvency; she ordered her ministers in England, Holland, and France, to buy up all his acceptances: by which means his credit was saved; and in due time he was able to repay his benefactress all she had advanced. The baron possessed a *pug dog* which the empress admiring, it was presented and graciously accepted. Crammed with luxuries that were before untasted, poor pug paid dear for his dainties; actually dying of repletion. The empress, *grieved* at this event, said to one of her officers, "*Go! take* SUTHERLAND, *and have him* FLAYED *and* STUFFED!"—Obedient to the imperial dame, away went the officer to the baron's house, and told him, with a face full of horror, the dreadful orders given by the empress! With all his confidence in the favor of Catherine, Baron Sutherland felt *rather* awkward; for he knew if she had determined to *flay* and *stuff* him, there was no appeal. Having prevailed on the officer to let him go to the empress in a whole skin, when the *trembling* banker was announced, and admitted to an audience, the empress, on being informed of the ludicrous mistake, laughed heartily, and soon removed the fears of the baron, by telling him it was the *dead pug* (which she had called '*Sutherland*') that she had ordered to be '*flayed and stuffed*,' and not himself.

felt's career, the price of his treason was remitted. Notwithstanding the well feigned horror and amazement he played off on the mutiny taking place in Finland, Armfelt was the secret source

before, they would have remained untouched, and the Russian navy idly paraded the gulph of Finland.

" The Russians took, besides, from six to seven thousand Swedes prisoners, of whom I have spoken in another place, with considerable quantities of naval stores.

" The Swedish flotilla, lying near Frederikshamn and the mouth of the river Thymen, was followed, so soon as Prince Nassau had repaired the damages of his vessels, by the Russian light frigates, galleys, and gun-boats.

" The Russian flotilla lay at anchor at no great distance from the Swedes, whose galley-fleet lay behind two islands, the main channel between the islands, and narrower ones upon the opposite sides, being defended by chains of gun-boats and by several batteries.

" The Russian fleet was much superior in force; and the signal for attack being given by Prince Nassau from his frigate, the Catharine, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th of June, the whole proceeded with alacrity to battle, the wind blowing them down directly upon the enemy. The Swedish first line of battle consisted of four frigates and three xebecs. Their gun-boats were ranged behind, and upon the right and left, besides those which guarded the narrow channels. The Russian line opposed to the Swedes consisted of four frigates and three xebecs, with one floating battery. The rest of the Russian galleys and gun-boats, amounting to 60 or 70 sail, most unaccountably retreated at the very commencement of the action; and, during the period it lasted, remained at a convenient distance, disregarding the orders of Prince Nassau.

of that treason; and if it had succeeded to the extent of dethroning Gustavus the Third, or causing the loss of Finland, he would have thrown off the mask, and claimed the *honor* of

"The wind had increased to a brisk gale. The Russians in the gun-boats had never before seen the ocean, and could not manage their oars, or perhaps this new and strange situation might strike many of them with a panic. It is not on board the gun-boats and galleys, as on board the larger vessels which may be brought into action without much exertion of the crews: two or three awkward rowers will put a galley or gun-boat in a dangerous situation, if the sea is running high. When the Russians have only to stand fire, to load and to discharge their guns, no fault will ever be found with them in action: but they are not at all acquainted with the arts of seamanship, nor can it be expected.

"The action this day was between four Russian frigates, commanded by the English officers Dennison, Marshall, Young and Perry, and the three xebecs, and a floating battery, commanded by Russian officers, against the whole Swedish fleet. Both the hostile squadrons lay abreast of each other at anchor, and continued for ten hours warmly engaged. The Swedish commander, now the ambassador from the court of Stockholm at Petersburgh, seeing he could spare a part of his force, detached about fifty gun-boats through the narrow channels, with the gallant design of surrounding the superior fleet of the Russian galleys and gun-boats which remained inactive. The Russian galleys and gun-boats, though they kept at a cowardly distance from the fire of the enemy's frigates, instantly attacked their gun-boats, and drove them back. This done, they remained as before, without even attempting to second their brave countrymen, who, while each ship had

having added the province in which he was born to the empire of Russia. This corrupt and wicked favorite strove to instigate Gustavus to shed the blood of his political enemies on the

another of equal force to contend with of the Swedes, were besides raked in all directions by surrounding gun-boats.

"Many of the Russian galleys and gun-boats were wrecked upon the shore adjoining to the narrow channels to which they had gone to the attack of the enemy's gun-boats, or driven through by the wind, or lost by the awkwardness of the crews. Several of the crews from the wrecked gun-boats and galleys, getting ashore upon the islands, with what brandy they had saved with themselves, employed their time in drinking and singing while the battle was raging in other quarters.

"The Russian frigates and xebecs maintained the most bloody and obstinate engagement upon record. Captain Dennison repeatedly sent an officer to Prince Nassau, to inform him of the certain consequences of the action against the Russian arms, if the galleys and gun-boats did not come down to support this squadron. About one o'clock Captain Dennison was struck by a grape-shot in the head, and mortally wounded. The command of the ship devolved upon the first lieutenant, Mr. M'Carthy, who, assisted by the Russian Colonel Tchetcherin in conducting this bloody struggle, fought the frigate, until they were under the necessity, to prevent her sinking, to run her ashore. They were attacked on every side by gun-boats, and sustained for several hours the fire of two and three of the Swedish frigates, after these had succeeded in defeating, by means of the numerous gun-boats, the other Russian ships and xebecs.

"Captain Perry yielded after an obstinate engagement. Captain Young fought his frigate, until his crew wisely

scaffold; an object in which Armfelt could never prevail: he was at once overbearing and servile: he used constantly to dwell on the anomalies that were mixed up with the constitu-

refused to obey, and to throw away their lives, without the smallest hopes of success. The crew ran their ship on shore, and were taken prisoners.

"Captain Marshall, keeping up a fire which astonished the Swedes, fought whilst his ship was a wreck, and hardly able to support her cannon: even when the main deck was under water, and the frigate lying upon a bank, which alone prevented her from sinking, the gallant Marshall thundered in broadsides against the enemy. He was wounded in the thighs and in the knee, around which he had wrapped the ship's ensign. He stood upon the quarter deck, leaning upon the arm of his lieutenant. While all hopes of victory were over, and not a gun above water, the ship ready to go to pieces with every wave, a shot cut him in two, and he fell upon the deck, covered with the sea which broke over it. The colours still remained flying. The Russian priest called together the few left of the ship's company: he comforted them under their distress, and held the cross to them all, which they devoutly kissed. The ship separated, the priest held up the cross, kissed it, and went to the bottom, clasping it in his hands. Several of the crew hung upon pieces of the wreck, and even in this situation some were killed by the enemy's shot, but which was not directed at them.

"One boat, the only one which remained with Captain Dennison's frigate, was dispatched to the relief of these heroes. Eight men and two officers were picked up. They were saved from one kind of death to meet another; and on coming on board the frigate, now fighting almost singly against the Swedish fleet, they were placed at the

tion of 1772, encouraging the king to break his voluntary oath, and render the crown independent of the nation. Whilst he was the stipendiary of Russia, he cast imputations of that kind on every patriot. He *would*, if he could, have kept the king and his brother Charles constantly in a state of mutual suspicion and enmity; insinuating that the duke himself stood in secret connexion with the empress, and that the great miscarriages by sea and land had originated with that prince. Even the excessive magnificence by which Gustavus the Third was so greatly distinguished, was partly

guns, and bore their part in a battle of some hours. The Maria, at last, nearly in the same situation with the late Captain Marshall's ship, was run on shore about half past nine in the evening; the officers and men having supported with unparalleled bravery, an unequal contest from nine or ten o'clock in the morning. The three xebecs had been taken before this; the bravery of the Russian officers who commanded them would have yielded only to such superior force.

"Prince Nassau, seeing the battle at an end, is said to have hid his face with his cloak. The galleys and gun-boats had by this time entirely gone away; nor did the Swedes attempt to pursue the greater number of enemies who ran from them.

"Thus ended the naval campaign in the Baltic. Prince Nassau meant again to attack the Swedes, and had been joined by some frigates for the purpose. A courier arrived at the galley-fleet with the news of the peace, and prevented his intention being put into execution.

"The Swedes took about 2000 prisoners of the Russians in the late battle, from the frigates captured, and

owing to the insidious artifices of Baron Armfelt, who was often in the habit of extolling the tasteful magnificence of the empress Catharine. With a nation that fell short of three millions of people, thinly strewed over a barren tract, larger in extent than France or Germany, and with a revenue inferior to that of individual subjects in Russia or Austria, Gustavus aspired at eclipsing in splendor the empress of all the Russias; thus realizing, at the expence of his suffering subjects, the fable of the frog and the ox. If he had been king of a nation wealthy as Great Britain, his fine taste

from the galleys and gun-boats run on shore. Prince Nassau is a very unfortunate, as he is a very brave officer. Admiral Tchitchigow is attended by the goddess of Fortune for his pilot: he, too, is a brave and gallant officer; the opinions with regard to his skill are various.

"The Russians by this successful campaign have established a paramount power over the Baltic. The Swedes cannot again raise their heads for a century. It would be in vain for them to build ships of the line for the Russians to capture. The superiority of the Russian fleet in numbers, if well conducted, must be at all times an overmatch for the former.

"The Russian fleets returned to port, the armies were dispersed. And this is the end of war: Having been at much expence and trouble in cutting each other's throats, a form of peace is drawn up, and each nation congratulate themselves upon their victories.

"When will this farce of murder be at an end? When will men turn wise enough to check the ambition of princes, but without destroying the happiest system of government, which has a good king at its head?"

would have elevated the character of the people; he would have embellished his residence with structures and monuments, elegant and durable as the proudest edifices of Greece or Rome; and by his liberal patronage of native genius, and fostering the arts and sciences, he might in a great measure have atoned for wars founded on ambition, and his encroachments on public liberty; but the waste occasioned by his taste for splendor, fell heavily on so poor a nation; and his necessities impelled him to financial expedients not always just, which greatly accelerated the catastrophe that ensued. It has been already remarked, that, to an inordinate passion for military glory, he sacrificed, without remorse, the welfare of his subjects. That formidable mutiny in Finland, which ought to have weaned him from this destructive passion, seemed merely to have inspired him with new ardor for war! Between the commencement of the war with Russia and the treaty of Verela,* by which it was closed, the

* TREATY of PEACE concluded between the King of Sweden and the Empress of all the Russias, Aug. 11, 1790.

In the Name of the Holy and Undivided Trinity!

His majesty the king of Sweden and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, equally desirous of putting an end to the war which had unhappily broke out between them, and to re-establish the friendship, harmony, and good neighbourhood, which have long subsisted between their respective states and countries, have reciprocally communicated to each other their pacific intentions, and

French revolution occurred; and the ability of the Bourbon monarchs to retain petty kings by secret pensions, suddenly ceased. Gustavus had been devoted to the support of French politics,

with a view to realise them, they have appointed and authorised, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the sieur Gustavus d'Armfelt, baron of Vorentatha, &c. &c. and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, the sieur Otho Henry d'Ingelstrom, lieutenant-general of her armies, &c. &c. who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, and found them duly authorised, and in proper form, and having mutually exchanged them, have agreed on the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be henceforward between his majesty the king of Sweden, and his estates, countries, and nations on one part, and her majesty the empress of all the Russias, and her estates, countries, and nations, on the other, perpetual peace, good neighbourhood, and perfect tranquillity, both by sea and land; and consequently, the most speedy orders for the cessation of hostilities shall be given by each party. Whatever is past shall be forgotten; attention will only be paid to the re-establishment of that harmony and mutual good-will, which has been interrupted by the present war.

Art. II. The limits and frontiers shall, on each side, continue as they were before the rupture, or the beginning of the present war.

Art. III. Therefore all the countries, provinces, or places whatever, which have been taken or occupied by the troops of either of the contracting parties, shall be evacuated as speedily as possible, or fourteen days after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty.

Art. IV. All prisoners of war, or others, who, not bearing arms, have been taken by either of the belligerent

not alone from mercenary motives, but from an irregular kind of gratitude; because it was that profuse court which had supplied him with the funds that enabled him to effect the revolu-

parties during the course of hostilities, shall be set at liberty by each party without ransom; and they shall be permitted to return home without any indemnification being required by either party for their maintenance; but they shall be obliged to pay the debts which they have contracted with individuals of each respective state.

Art. V. And in order to prevent the giving the least occasion for a misunderstanding at sea between the contracting parties, it is stipulated and agreed, that whenever one or more Swedish men of war, whether small or great, shall pass by the forts of her imperial majesty, they shall be obliged to give a salute in the Swedish manner; which shall be immediately answered by a salute in the Russian mode. The same shall be observed by Russian men of war, whether one or more; they shall be obliged to salute before the forts of his Swedish majesty, and they shall be answered by a Swedish salute.

In the mean time, the high contracting parties shall order, as speedily as possible, a particular convention to be made, in which the mode of saluting between Swedish and Russian ships shall be established, whether at sea, in port, or wherever they may chance to meet.

Till then, in order to prevent mistakes in the above case, ships of war belonging to either party shall not salute each other.

Art. VI. Her imperial majesty of all the Russias has also agreed, that his Swedish majesty shall be at liberty to buy every year, corn to the amount of 50,000 roubles, in the ports of the gulph of Finland and of the Baltic sea, provided it be proved that it is for the use of his Swedish

tion of 1772; and a third source of respect was its high notions of kingly dignity, and utter contempt of every restraint that would set limits to its power. The empress was aware of these cir-

majesty, or for the use of some of his subjects duly authorised by his majesty, without dues or charges, and to export it freely into Sweden. In this, however, barren years shall not be included, nor such years in which, for some important reasons, her Imperial majesty may be induced to forbid the exportation of grain to any nation whatever.

Art. VII. As the eagerness of the high contracting parties for the speedy termination of those evils with which their respective subjects have been afflicted in consequence of war does not allow them time for the regulation of many points and objects tending to establish firmly a good neighbourhood and perfect tranquillity of the frontiers, they agree, and mutually promise to pay attention to those points and objects, and to discuss and regulate them amicably by means of ambassadors, or plenipotentiary ministers, whom they shall appoint immediately after the conclusion of the present treaty of peace.

Art. VIII. The ratifications of the present treaty of peace shall be exchanged within the space of six days, or sooner if possible.

In testimony whereof, we have signed the present treaty of peace, and sealed it with our arms.

Done in the plain of Verela, near the river Kymene, between the advanced posts of each camp, the 11th of August, 1790.

GUSTAVUS MAURE, BARON D'ARMFELT.
OTHO, BARON D'IGELSTROM.

cumstances, and of the inconveniences to which the stoppage of the French subsidies had exposed him. Catherine, therefore, instructed Baron Armfelt to sound the king, and prepare him to receive pecuniary aid from her exchequer! At the same time she caused Gustavus to be applied to by some of the most illustrious of the French emigrant nobles, who represented their beauteous queen and the ladies of her court as overwhelmed with grief, and their bright eyes, suffused with tears, turned towards the chivalrous king of Sweden, as their future knight and deliverer. The bait took: this expedient promised to administer to his wants, and his ambition; and he inconsiderately agreed to become a pensioner to the empress Catherine, and plunge his devoted kingdom into a new war in which it had not the smallest interest; and against a people from whom Sweden had not received even the shadow of insult or injury.

Being thus pre-disposed to venture upon a second war of aggression, before the wounds were half healed that had been inflicted by the first; which was destitute of the popularity, that, flattering the pride, deceived and misled the judgment of the nation; and rendering the people delighted with a prospect of revenge on Russia, they totally overlooked the breach of compact committed by the king.

Although Gustavus would not suffer the mutiny in Finland to operate as a beacon to warn

him to beware of risking aggressive war; he determined, if possible, to guard himself in future against disloyal or *patriotic* officers. He, therefore, determined to provide a nursery for the future supply of the army with officers; to take them at an early period from their parents and their home, and train and educate them in habits of blind and implicit obedience. This school, for the education of military students, he intended to establish in the palace of Ulricsdal;, and the better to cloak and conceal this odious policy, the king ordered the naval cadets from Carlscrona to be removed to this new institution, which he ordained should bear the ominous name of the "*War Academy.*" The celebrated philosopher and scholar, Professor Melanderhjelm, of Upsala university, was ordered by the king to prepare a system of moral and scientific education. Meantime, under the specious pretext of providing for the fortresses, and filling the magazines that the war just ended had exhausted of stores, Gustavus caused the fabrication of arms, ammunition, tents, clothing, &c. to be continued. Through the secret and powerful influence of Russia, and his own fiery zeal, Gustavus became the idol of the French refugees; and the head of the counter-revolutionists.—A pensioned patriot, or a pensioned parliament, are deservedly objects of popular aversion; but a pensioned king is the most culpable of all pensioners. Such was Gustavus the Third, who dared not resent COUNT STACKELBERG (who had so

long played the despot over the guilty Stanislaus, at Warsaw), calling him "*A true and worthy knight of his immortal mistress!*"

Gustavus was not deceived by Catherine's illusive professions; he plainly saw her drift; but so serious were his financial difficulties, it was impossible he could extricate himself without foreign subsidies or loans, and the only certain means of attaining either was by appearing heartily to second the views of the empress. Thus his expensive habits had a strong and irresistible tendency to produce those events that accelerated his destruction.

Meantime the brave, generous, and unsuspecting people, over whose destiny, this unfaithful shepherd pretended to watch, and whose lives and property were exposed by his errors and crimes; attached to France by powerful ties, beheld with a solemn and generous anxiety her efforts to become free! Thus, the very antipodes of each other, were the sentiments of the Swedish people and their sovereign. However trivial may be the share of legislative power that falls to the lot of the uncultivated farmers of Sweden, and degraded as they stand by the insolence of the nobles, who long since decreed, that any persons who had received a liberal education, should be excluded from becoming the representatives of the peasants, it still inspires them with lofty sentiments, and short will be the reign of the Swedish monarch, who shall deprive them of this barren right. The peasantry

of Sweden are really a religious race; with them the doctrines taught by their pastors are implicitly received; and all the king could do to incense their simple minds against the French, was to call them a nation of *atheists,* who had renounced the christian faith, and murdered the christian priests; but, as the religion of France was that of Rome, some wit* circulated a report that the people of Paris had renounced popery, and were about to turn Lutherans! a finesse that is said to have had the effect of neutralizing that ruse resorted to by the king. The greater the pains that were taken to prejudice the people against the French, the farther they were from attaining their object, andthe more popular the cause of freedom became. Severe and witty pasquinades were daily launched amongst the populace, ridiculing the personal character of the king, and lashing his predeliction for absolute monarchy. Gustavus often went out alone, and *incog.* wrapped in a military great coat, and fearlessly mixed amongst the people. Every where he heard the severest censure; or bold prophecies that his attempt to crush the rising freedom of the French, would serve as a signal to the people of Sweden to wrest the sceptre from his hand. Yet, a firm reliance upon the *standing army,* gave him confidence that he should be able to *coerce* the people into submission. To this prince, at this period, might, with propriety have been

* It was said to have been Mr. Thorild.

applied the emphatic words, "*Quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.*" Instead of taking timely warning from what he heard with his own ears, and had seen with his own eyes, he resolved at every risk to persevere; and, perhaps, in conformity to the instructions of the *imperial* Russian police, he prohibited the discussion of *French* politics; forbade by proclamations, the people from discoursing on any subjects connected with the progress of the French revolution; whilst the few feeble journals that existed in Sweden, were forbade inserting the speeches of the popular orators! His orders were, however, openly laughed at in Stockholm; the very soldiers on whom he so fully depended, openly expressed their unwillingness to be sent so far from their home to fight against a nation that had never wronged their country: and it was the opinion of several officers of long standing and great experience in the Swedish army, that if he had not been cut off as he was by the hand of Ankarstrom, this very army he was assembling, with the view of invading France, in Normandy, and marching direct on Paris, would have hoisted the standard of revolt, and destroyed the king whom once they adored.

Meantime, the indigent and mercenary monarch solicited and obtained great pecuniary contributions from the Bourbons of Spain and Naples, from the emperor of Germany, and the Pope, to help to defray the expences of paying rapacious emissaries, who pretended to create insurrections

in France in favour of the despotism that had been overthrown; and in procuring the best intelligence. For this end, and to meet the ministers from the principal powers, who were forming an anti-gallican league, he went in July, 1791, to Aix-la-Chappelle. The marquis De Bouillé, the representative of the Bourbon princes and emigrants of France, was there; and there was also said to be a secret agent from a prince who ought not to have sanctioned a crusade against those principles to which his forefathers owed a triple crown.*

* The late William Augustus Miles, Esq. author of Letters to the Prince of Wales, &c. and who, at this period (1791) was intimately and confidentially acquainted with the Marquis Fayette, M. Chauvelin, and other distinguished characters in France; and who was also the *confidential friend* and *political correspondent* of the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, assured the author by letter, in November, 1809, that the Elector of Hanover was a party to the treaty of Pilnitz, and to all the machinations carried on under the auspices of Gustavus the Third. Mr. Miles farther assured him, (the author) that Mr. Pitt had made up his mind to the observance of an armed neutrality, and not to interfere with the internal affairs of France, "but," said Mr. M. "the —— was personally bent on war; in which project the ——, who might rather be said to reign than the ——, was highly instrumental in accelerating that impolitic and ruinous measure. The great proprietors of boroughs, whigs, and tories, were alarmed at the republican spirit that obtained, and were determined on war. Mr. Pitt was ambitious; the love of power was deeper rooted in his mind, than attachment to those principles by which he had elevated his fame as a statesman; and he had a brother to provide for, who was a peer, an ——, indigent, and profuse. Mr. Pitt had to chuse between retiring from office, or making war on France: he had no party on which he could depend for support: and he submitted to the expedient that was

But the steps of Gustavus were watched, and his hours numbered. The leading men in France were informed of his movements; and as to his views, those unequivocally aimed at the restoration of an arbitrary government. A secret correspondence was carried on between certain persons attached to freedom in Sweden, and the existing government of France. The marquis De Bouille found means to discover that such an intercourse existed, and also that it was intended to assassinate the king, at Aix. Alarmed to the highest degree at the near prospect of losing the monarch, on whom the restoration of the old system so greatly depended, the marquis, in a manner, drove away the mercenary champion of kings, a day or two sooner than he intended, whereby, it has been asserted, his life was saved.

There is no authentic source to which this report can be traced, nor whether it was intended to have been executed by a Frenchman, or a Swede. The author was informed in Sweden, by a person of distinction, that the king was warned by a stranger, that if he stayed twenty-four hours longer he would inevitably lose his life. Let whoever might be its projector, the expedient

required."—Mr. Miles has left many papers relative to the sources of the first revolutionary war. He had also written a history of that war; and probably of the war of 1803; and if those MSS. should be published, the truth of these anecdotes having been derived from Mr. Miles will be manifest, whatever may be the credit given to matters stated.

was base and infamous. Every nation has a right to form its own government; and, in case of gross and flagrant misrule, to cashier its rulers. Circumstances have often occurred, in which it became a social duty to draw the sword against a lawless chief; but no truly great or honourable mind ever yet had recourse to an assassin, or the stilletto.

When Louis the Sixteenth* accepted the constitution, and swore to maintain it, some of the principal heads of the royal league became lukewarm. Prussia, seemed jealous of the designs cherished by Gustavus the Third: yet, still the latter persevered: if Spain, Austria, or Prussia became lukewarm, the King of Sweden kept the cause alive, and appeared, at every risk, resolved to restore the prostrate despotism of the Bourbon throne, or lose his own in the rash undertaking. And notwithstanding the vast contributions he received, so great were his disbursements, he felt himself compelled to summon a diet, to supply the means of carrying on the war against France. He caused this assembly to be summoned to meet at Gefle,

* When the dispatch was handed to Gustavus the Third, announcing the acceptation of the constitution by Louis the Sixteenth, the king would not break the seals nor read the papers transmitted. A strong proof of duplicity on the part of the French king, as it cannot be supposed that Gustavus would have thus insulted Louis; if it had not been previously agreed upon between them. The editor of the Annual Register, vol. XXXIV. p. 57, imputes this conduct in the Swedish king to the influence of the empress of Russia.

a sea-port and city, situated on the coast of Bothnia; and so short was the interval between the appearance of the proclamation and the day of meeting, that the distant cities had not time to make their elections of deputies; and many of the delegates from the south and west of Sweden, could not arrive in due time. The diet met on the 23d of January, 1792, under the protection of foreign mercenaries. By means of secret and corrupt arrangements, the king carried every point in favour of regal prerogative, although he failed in obtaining all the pecuniary supplies he demanded. Whilst the king was in Gefle, his mortal enemies were close at his heels, and he had a hair breadth escape from being murdered. Having dissolved the diet, he returned sullen and dissatisfied to Stockholm, but yet inflexibly resolved on war. But, again, his deadly enemies were in chace, they arrived within a few hours in Stockholm after the king; and it was intended to cut him off that very night!

It would be presumptuous to assign the number of persons engaged in the conspiracy formed against the life of this guilty monarch: but they were almost entirely persons of eminence belonging to the order of nobility.

The world has heard much of John Jacob Ankarstrom the Swedish regicide: the most absurd and groundless stories were, at the time of his assassinating the king, put in circulation, to make him appear as a monster of cruelty and depravity. His crime was of a nature that excites

abhorrence, but he appears to have been impelled by wrongs inflicted by the victim of his resentment. Mr. Lewis Goldsmith* affirms, that at a very early period of his life, Gustavus the third offered Ankarstrom an insult, that, if truly recited, would have justified the latter in laying the former dead at his feet. It was said, that the spirited young Swede struck the prince, and long afterwards continued to speak of him with contempt, and avoid those places where he was most likely to meet him. The enmity thus created lasted throughout their lives, and ultimately led to their untimely death. Whether from personal pique, or more honourable motives, Captain Ankarstrom was always conspicuous for the severity of his comments upon the government of Gustavus the Third; and the king is accused of having had recourse to a variety of mean expedients to injure Captain Ankarstrom in his professional career, and irritate his feelings. During the war with Russia, he commanded the troops stationed in the island of Gothland; shortly after which a Russian force effected a landing. As there was

* Crimes of Cabinets, p. 16, &c.—Mr. Goldsmith, by an important error, made Captain Ankarstrom governor of the province of East Gothland, one of the most valuable gifts at the disposal of the crown.—He was sent by the king into an honourable banishment, and the *island* of Gothland was appointed for his residence. He commanded the few troops stationed in that remote island, and thence he acquired the honorary title of Governor of Gothland.

no competent force, nor any forts, nor place of refuge, and the whole island would have been given up to pillage in case of resistance: it became the duty of a governor to surrender, in order to save the inhabitants from massacre, and their property from destruction. After the king's return from Finland in 1788, he received information that Captain Ankarstrom was engaged in active correspondence with the nobles, who encouraged the officers of the Finland troops to mutiny; and who were then consulting on the bold expedient of assembling a diet in the absence of the king, with the view to dethrone him. When Gustavus caused the accused officers to be tried, Captain Ankarstrom was arraigned of treason, and the only proof offered was, that he had advised the people of Gothland not to take up arms against the Russians! When party spirit ran mountains high, and the dissenting officers were held in such scorn by the populace, that they scarcely dared to shew themselves in the streets of Stockholm, it is not wonderful that among the lowest inhabitants of Gothland persons should be found to give that kind of evidence, which, when repeated before a court martial, made up of the king's creatures, should sanction his conviction. He was sentenced to TWENTY YEARS confinement in a fortress to be named by the king! The noble prisoner heard the sentence, not only unawed, but with calm contempt: he was more disturbed by a PARDON from the king, which he could not

evade, and never solicited. When this was announced, he said, "*I would rather perish through "the enmity of the king, than live dishonoured by his "clemency.* I am innocent of the charges fabrica- "ted against me, that were sustained by suborned "evidence. My unjust judges know this. I "demanded justice, it was denied me; and I "consider this exemption from an unrighteous "judgment, not as a favour, but a matter of right." When Captain Ankarstrom was released, he was as well received in the fashionable circles as if he had not been accused; and the general effect of these proceedings was very unfavourable to the reputation of the king.*

The disordered state of the finances drove this monarch to many shifts to raise money or liquidate debts, that were radically dishonest; amongst others, by virtue of the sign manual he diminished, by *one-third,* the value of the state paper currency; thus, the dollar, which at par was four shillings and sixpence sterling, was reduced to *three shillings!* —A reduction so violent and sudden in the value of the paper currency that was then afloat, to an amount far greater than that of bank notes at the present day in England, the comparative wealth of the two kingdoms considered, could not fail to produce discontent, poverty, and the total ruin of many. It happened that, just at this period,

"The conduct of Gustavus the Third towards the delinquents "brought to trial, seems to have been an absurd mixture of clemency "and severity."—Vide New Annual Register, 1790, p. 54.

Captain Ankarstrom had sold landed property to the value of three hundred thousand dollars, the amount of which he received in paper, at par; and, as it was reported in Sweden to the author, the very next day the depreciation ensued, by which that individual lost one-third of the produce of his estates. There were heavy and general accusations against the king of favouring his creatures, by giving them a hint of what was likely to ensue: be that as it might, the thing was unjust, and it operated so strongly on the mind of Ankarstrom, that he is said to have made a vow to God upon his knees, that he would avenge his wrongs by shedding the blood of his oppressor. —The resentment that glowed thus intensely in *his* bosom, burnt with equal fierceness in those of his friends and connections. About this period a conspiracy was formed, consisting of persons determined to dethrone or murder the king; and for the last three months preceding his fall, scarcely a week elapsed in which he was not pursued by his determined foes. The hour of his death was often fixed prior to his journey to Gefle, and as often deferred, owing to the intervention of different obstacles. He was followed to Gefle, but no opportunity occurring, the conspirators chased him back to the capital. This happened on the first of March, and on the second the king was expected to attend at a grand masquerade, where Ankarstrom, provided with the instruments of death, took his station; but the

king did not make his appearance, or he had probably fallen that night. So many failures would have intimidated men of ordinary minds, and made them desist from an unhallowed enterprize that Providence seemed to avert. But nothing could shake the fixed resolve of Captain Ankarstrom, who made up his mind to the belief that, from polluted morals and violated oaths, the king had forfeited God's protection, and it was morally right to kill him for the safety and welfare of society; but, that God would still require the blood of him by whose hands that of the king might be shed, whose soul would be saved, if he died a sincere penitent.* From the enthusiasm that filled his mind, Ankarstrom would as readily have killed the king in a church as in a theatre.

A small pavilion, situate at Haga, distant about a league from Stockholm, was the favorite residence of Gustavus. The road to Haga leads through Drottning Gatan (Queen-street), in which is a noted tavern called *Mon Bijou*. It was proposed to cause an obstruction by means of carts and waggons opposite this spot, and to shoot the king during the delay it might occasion: it was next resolved, if possible, to kill the king at Haga, or, to seize his person as he walked in the park, and carry

* There seems, a sort of analogy to exist between the religious opinions of Ankarstrom and our assassin Bellingham; both were endowed with an equal degree of fortitude, and met their fate with the same resignation.

him off to a seat belonging to Count Ribbing, and there confine him *in secret* till a diet should have decided on his fate: both these plans were found impracticable. About a week before the catastrophe so often menaced, really took place, a grand ball was to have been given by the court, which was unexpectedly deferred. At last, on the 16th of March, a grand masquerade was announced to be given at the opera house, which was expected to attract an assembly of spectators unusually numerous, and this was instantly seized on for the execution of their fell purpose.

Just as the king's dresser was decorating him for this spectacle, a letter met his eye, addressed "*To his Majesty the King.*" "*Secret and important.*" Gustavus took it up, looked inquisitively at the hand-writing, and then flung it carelessly on the dressing-table. A thought that he knew the hand-writing induced him to take it up once more, when he read as follows:

"SIRE!

"Deign to listen to the advice of a man, who not being attached to your service, nor solicitous for your favour, flatters not your crimes, but who is still desirous of averting the danger with which you are threatened.

"Be assured that a plot is formed to assassinate you. Those who have entered into it are furious at being foiled last week by the ball being countermanded. They have resolved to execute

their schemes this day. Remain at home,* and avoid balls the remainder of the year; thus the fanaticism of criminality will be suffered to evaporate.

" Do not endeavour to discover the author of this letter: the damnable project against your life is come to his knowledge by accident; be assured, however, that he has no interest whatever in forewarning you of your intended fate.

" If your mercenary troops had made use of any violence against the citizens at Gefle, the writer of this letter would have fought you sword in hand, but he detests assassination."

Such were the mystical words contained in this anonymous letter. The king was observed to turn pale as he read it, and to look gloomy and thoughtful, as if he were undetermined how to act. Baron Bjelke,† the king's private secretary, was present, who knew the hand-writing, though disguised; he was one of the conspirators, but such was his self-command, he did not exhibit the least symptom of alarm, though certain that

* The writer, by using these words, probably meant to admonish the king against his meditated voyage to France; where it was known he intended to effect a landing, with the hope of being joined by the royalists in Normandy, and enabled to march to Paris.

† Most of these particulars, and many others that follow, relative to Ankarstrom, the king, &c. were translated from a Swedish MS. written at Stockholm by a person who belonged to the household of the king: it was never published. They are fairly translated, but the author dares not vouch for their accuracy.

he was betrayed. The king handed him the letter, saying, "Read: and tell me what you think of it."—"It appears to me, Sire," said the treacherous adviser, "to be written by some one who writes to *intimidate* your majesty, and prevent you from partaking of any public amusement.."—"*Intimidate me!*" exclaimed Gustavus with strong emphasis, and looks expressive of disdain: "What mortal can do that?—I never heed such trumpery! Were I to notice all the admonitions I receive I should never enjoy a moment's rest, but expect assassination every hour!"—Such was the subtle artifice to which Baron Bjelke had recourse to prevent Colonel Lillehorn's letter taking effect, and to drive the unsuspecting monarch into the toils of his enemies.* Let Gustavus have been as wicked a prince as ever disgraced a throne, the confidential servant who could act thus treacherously could be no less depraved. Seeing the king eyeing the hand-writing, the insidious traitor said, "It may, however, contain a friendly warning, and, if I might presume, I should, with all humility, suggest that the masquerade be countermanded; in which case, if the letter is genuine, the danger will be avoided, and the conspirators detected.—"And if it is a mockery," rejoined Gustavus, "the insolent writer will say *the king was frightened!*—I am resolved to go!"—

* The family of the Bjelkes is one of the oldest in Sweden, and of native origin. Summila Bjelka was second consort to John the Third, second son of Gustavus the First.

As soon as he could withdraw, Baron Bjelke went to execute a signal agreed on, namely, if the king were *sure* to be at the masquerade, he was, at a certain hour, to send his watch to be repaired by a goldsmith and watchmaker, and if the kind would not be there, then a snuff-box. Count Ribbing was to be in waiting at the shop, which was in the Drottning Gatan. The baron concealed their danger from his accomplices, and sent the watch. He next went to his own apartment, burnt several letters, that, if discovered, might have implicated persons of higher rank, and armed himself with a small dose of a peculiarly powerful animal poison imported from Asia, and concealed a lancet under the embroidery of his coat. On his return to the palace, he found the king was just ready to set off. Notwithstanding the incitements so artfully applied by Baron Bjelke, Gustavus really wavered, and was undetermined whether to go or not. Count d'Essen strenuously advised the king to desist from his intention, and to encourage the author of the letter to avow himself; but the dread of exciting the contempt even of an anonymous correspondent, and the false shame arising from excessive pride, urged him to his fate! That contempt of personal danger, and impatience of unpalateable advice, that ever marked his character, decided his destiny. Baron Bjelke arrived before the king, and placed himself next to Ankarstrom. Gustavus delayed his entry so long that the conspirators

thought they were betrayed, or should be again disappointed. "It seems as if we are not to have the honor of seeing the king to-night?" said Ankarstrom, in an indifferent manner. "*Fear not,*" said Baron Bjelke, "you will not be disappointed." In a few minutes a flourish of trumpets announced the approach of the royal victim, who entered the saloon leaning on the arm of the count d'Essen: his majesty's countenance was as usual, cheerful and animated, and he seemed to be discoursing on some gay subject with the count. Although the countenance of Gustavus bore no trace of the impression produced by the anonymous letter, its warning was evidently uppermost; for almost as soon as he had arrived in the grand saloon, he said to the count, "I was right in treating the letter with contempt: if there had existed any plot against my life, it would have been executed before I arrived at this place." The count bowed, and said with great gravity, "May your majesty's opinion be verified." Many an angry countenance burning with deadly malice, was fixed upon the king, whose quick and piercing eye caught a glance that awakened all his apprehensions. Instantly he determined to retire, and was actually making his way through the masked crowd, holding the Prussian minister by his arm, when he felt himself obstructed and surrounded. The chief conspirators were close to his person, and they inserted themselves between the king and his company. He felt himself borne along, and

attempted to make a stand near a scene, towards which he turned his back; behind this scene the cautious and inflexible Ankarstrom took his stand. Nothing could be more calm or collected than his carriage; not a nerve shook, not a pang touched his heart: in order that his victim might not escape, nor any other individual perish by mistake, whilst his right hand grasped the fatal pistol, with his left he touched the king on his left shoulder, who quickly turning his head to see by whom that freedom was taken, removed all doubt as to his identity, and then placing the muzzle of the pistol against his loins, he pulled the fatal trigger. The moment the report was heard, the conspirators shouted "*Fire! fire!*" as loud as possible, to create confusion, and afford Ankarstrom an opportunity of getting rid of the weapons he had about his person, and the conspirators to escape. The assassin did not, however, retire, but seeing the king yet erect, he grasped the notched and jagged pointed knife to plunge its blade into his body, when the purpose was prevented by seeing the king fall. Only a few moments elapsed between Ankarstrom's pulling the trigger and grasping the knife; but even that pause filled the conspirators with alarm lest the king should have escaped without a mortal wound. Count d'Essen, the king's grand equerry, the instant he heard the report of the pistol, called in a loud voice to the guards at the doors, to close them, and suffer no person to depart.

The king's attendants hastened round him to bear him to a couch, which was soon stained by the blood that issued from his wound. Meantime the utmost confusion prevailed in the saloon, during which Ankarstrom let fall the weapons he had concealed. The report soon got abroad that the king was murdered in the opera house; all the avenues were filled with military, and the whole edifice surrounded. Amidst this dreadful uproar, the wounded king displayed the utmost composure and presence of mind. As soon as he could make himself heard, which, at first, was not possible, he gave orders for the city gates to be closed; and addressing himself to the foreign ministers who crowded round him, he said to them: "I have given orders, gentlemen, that the gates of the city shall be kept shut for three days, during which time you will not be able to dispatch couriers to your respective courts; but, your intelligence will be the more certain, as by that time it will probably be ascertained whether or not I can survive!"—During the time he was speaking, the cold sweat that rose on his pallid face, plainly denoted the excess of agony he endured; meantime he directed that the most prompt and decisive measures should be adopted for the discovery of the assassin. Every person in the saloon, without exception, were required to take off their masks, to submit to be searched for concealed weapons, and to write their names and additions in books prepared for that purpose.

Either by chance or design, it happened that Ankarstrom was the very last person called upon to write his name. The chamberlain Benzelstjerna, stood opposite, as if to observe his manner and countenance. Captain Ankarstrom advanced in the most firm and collected manner; and having wrote his name, &c. he said in a cool and mild tone—"Have you any thing further, Sir, to require of me?" "Nothing more," said the chamberlain in reply. They bowed to each other, and Ankarstrom then walked deliberately to the anterooms, where he put on his pelisse and fur cap, and went directly home. Retiring to his bed-room, the murderer bent his knee, and merciless as he had proved himself by the deed just committed, he prayed earnestly for mercy from his Creator, acknowledged the heinous nature of his offence in shedding the blood of a fellow-creature, whilst the tears poured in profusion down his cheeks. At the conclusion of his prayers, he exclaimed, "By this act, I destroy myself and injure my family; but I shall save the lives of many thousands whom this monster would have led to slaughter in distant lands; and, I trust, I have rescued my country from destruction!" Having thus relieved his over-fraught heart, he assumed his usual manner; ordered his servant to bring him a biscuit and a glass of wine and water, and then, with every external mark of tranquillity, retired to bed, perhaps to repose. Such was the conduct of Captain Ankarstrom, after having

wounded the king in the dastardly way described.

The king's surgeons having examined the wound, and the direction in which the pistol had been fired, saw at once how small was the chance of their royal patient's recovery. During this operation that was excruciatingly painful, the king displayed that intense fortitude which few mortals ever possessed in a higher degree. As the surgeon applied his probe, the king thought his hand shook: suppressing the sense of pain, he said with a firm voice, "Do not suffer your sorrow to affect your hand! Remember, Sir, it is not possible I can survive if the balls are not extracted."—The surgeon paused a moment, as if to collect all his courage, and extracted a ball and some slugs. On his way from his palace to the opera-house a few hours before, Gustavus stepped lightly down the broad flights of granite stairs to the vestibule below. He was now carried slowly back, stretched on a litter borne on the shoulders of grenadiers, whose slightest motion gave him inexpressible pain. Like the palace itself, the grand stair-case is of stupendous dimensions. The massive balustrades are composed of polished marble; the broad steps of hewn granite; and the ornaments of colossal proportions, finely drawn and executed, are in strict conformity to the vast and beautiful outline of this grand edifice. The king's unwieldly state-coach, with a triple row of guards on either

side, might, apparently, have ascended. Although the portals were closed as soon as the king had entered, and none but courtiers and soldiers admitted, and even those not without selection, the whole of the colossal stairs were crowded to excess. Not a few of the ministers were clad in state dresses; and most of the courtiers and household officers still had on the fanciful robes worn at the fatal masquerade. This great diversity of splendid costume, the melancholy state of the king, stretched on the bier, laying on his side, his pale face resting on his right-hand, his features expressive of pain subdued by fortitude, the varied countenances of the surrounding throng, wherein grief, consternation, and dismay were forcibly depicted; the blaze of numerous torches and flambeaux borne aloft by the military; the glitter of burnished helmets, embroidered and spangled robes, mixed with the flashes of drawn sabres and fixed bayonets; the strong and condensed light thrown on the king's figure, countenance, litter, and surrounding group; the deep, dark masses of shade that seemed to flitter high above and far below the principal group, and the occasional illumination of the vast and magnificent outline of the structure, formed, on the whole, a spectacle more grand, impressive, and picturesque, than any state or theatrical procession, on the arrangement of which the tasteful Gustavus had ever been engaged. In the midst of excruciating agonies his eyes lost not their

brilliancy, and his finely expressive features displayed the triumph of fortitude over pain. Terrible and sudden as was this disaster, it did not deprive him of self-possession; he seemed more affected by the tears that trickled down the hard yet softened features of the veterans who had fought by his side, than by the wound that too probably would soon end his life. As the bearers of the royal litter ascended from flight to flight he raised his head, evidently to obtain a better view of the grand spectacle of which he formed the central, and principal object. When he arrived at the grand gallery level with the state apartments, he made a sign with his hand that the bearers should halt, and looking wistfully around him, he said to Baron Armfelt (who wept and sobbed aloud), "how strange it is I should rush upon my fate after the recent warnings I had received! My mind foreboded evil; I went reluctantly, impelled as it were by an invisible hand!—I am fully persuaded when a man's hour is come, it is in vain he strives to elude it!" After a short pause, he continued, "perhaps my hour is not yet arrived; I would willingly live, but am not afraid to die. If I survive, I may yet trip down these flights of steps again;—and if I die—why then, inclosed in my coffin, my next descent will be on my road to the Gustavianska graf i Riddarholm Kyrkan."* Gustavus spoke slowly, and in a low tone of voice.

* To the Gustavian Mausoleum in Riddarholm Church.

The pause was awful: every one seemed anxious in the extreme to catch a view of his person, or even the most distant murmur of his voice, and not a tearless eye was to be seen. Several of the principal characters holding a torch in their left-hand, threw their cloaks over their face with their right to conceal their excessive emotion. Gustavus was, perhaps, the most collected of the motley throng; and as soon as the violence of feeling had a little subsided he gave the signal to proceed. The lofty folding doors of the grand saloon were then thrown open, which were closed as soon as the principal persons had passed within, and the mournful cavalcade proceeded through the magnificent suite of state apartments to the royal bed-chamber, where the litter was gently rested, and the king carefully lifted to the couch whence he arose no more!

After Gustavus had rested about two hours, at his express command, and contrary to the advice of his physician and surgeons, and to the entreaties of his brother, the Duke Charles, of Soderman-land, the list of persons who had been present at the masquerade was read to him by Baron Armfelt. During this time the surgeons and attendants were ordered to retire, and the king commanded Armfelt to mark with a pencil such names as he suspected. Before the latter began to read, the king said, "tell me, my dear Armfelt, is the name of *Ankarstrom* amongst them?" "Yes, sire," the minion replied, "and the very last name upon the list!" The king looked gloomy, shook his head,

and said, "*my mind forbodes that that man has been my murderer.*"

Whilst wild afright and deep dismay prevailed throughout the vast extent of the royal palace, all the avenues to which were strongly guarded; as day-light approached the alarm extended itself to every quarter, and Stockholm presented the appearance of a populous city about to be suddenly invested by a powerful enemy.

Not only were the gates shut, but guarded by loaded cannon; and cannon were also placed in the principal avenues leading towards the palace, and the gunners attended with lighted matches. Strong parties of horse and foot soldiers paraded the streets. Ere morning dawned, the news was spread from one extremity of Stockholm to the other, that the king had been assassinated the preceding night. The shock thus given to public feeling was very great; and notwithstanding all the errors of the king, and the marked unpopularity of the war that he was about to wage; to the credit of the Swedes, sorrow for the king, indignation and rage against the assassins, were the predominant emotions. Thousands and tens of thousands of Swedes were radically disgusted by the king's inordinate and restless ambition, and who might, if the conspirators had openly taken up arms, have joined the standard of insurrection; but they abhorred assassination, and would rather have supported Gustavus and have endured all the calamities in which he might have involved his

country, than have removed him by such foul and dastardly means.

Even in the grand saloon of the opera-house, suspicion fell upon those noblemen present, whose opinions were known to be most hostile to the king's government and politics. Gustavus recollecting the mysterious or equivocal expressions used by Baron Bjelke, suspected him; and the anonymous letter was imputed to Colonel Lillehorn. But the most certain and direct clue to the actual assassin was furnished by the weapons found on the floor of the saloon. The pistols were recognised by the gunsmith, who had repaired them; the knife by the cutler that had sold it, and both referred to the same individual, namely, Captain Ankarstrom!—When he was ordered to be taken into custody, the officers of justice expected and were prepared for a desperate resistance. He saw them approach; he rose unarmed to meet them, saying in a mild tone of voice, "You may approach safely,—I know your errand; I have done *my* duty, you may do yours."—A temporary regency having been appointed, General Baron Armfelt was one of the members; but not the duke of Sodermanland,—not Sophia Magdalena,—nor even the young crown prince himself, shewed such marks of extravagant grief, as that wicked and perfidious minion. When Ankarstrom was under his first examination, Armfelt asked the name of his accomplices, threatening him with the most terrible of tortures if he refused to con-

fess. The prisoner stood with his arms folded, and his head erect; his features shewed that sort of gloomy firmness that fears neither torture nor death. Hearing Armfelt's threat, he turned full upon the speaker, and eyeing him with ineffable disdain, said slowly and scornfully, "Presume not, audacious criminal, to expect I shall obey thee. It was thy polluted example and contagious vileness that rendered the unfortunate king false to his oath, —that initiated him in crimes unknown on Swedish ground,—that rendered him a stain to manhood, and a scourge to his people."—"Silence! audacious traitor," fiercely exclaimed the enraged Armfelt, "thou art the murderer of the best and most virtuous of kings: terrible is thy guilt, and terrible shall be thy punishment."—In a tone of exultation, the enthusiast replied, "*Thou* art that which I am called! *thy* name is already a term of reproach, and never shall *thy* bones mingle with Swedish earth! The babe unborn shall bless my hand for the deed it hath performed. I have voluntarily sacrificed myself to rid nature of a monster, and my suffering country of a perjured tyrant!" —His manner seemed almost to awe the officers of justice; it was evident that he had wrought his mind to such a degree of enthusiasm, that he considered the deed as one acceptable to God, and beneficial to man. Yet the mode in which he had executed his dire project, was marked by peculiar cruelty and cowardice. Rusty nails were put into the pistol, the wounds inflicted by which are pecu-

liarly dangerous, from being so much more liable to gangrene. A deep indentation was made with a file, slanting towards the point of the knife, intending, if he had plunged it into the body of his victim, to have turned it in the wound, and have thereby caused such laceration as should prove incurable: and he shot his victim in the back! His motive for adopting these horrid and malignant plans, certainly might, as he alleged, be grounded in the importance he attached to the effectual destruction of the king. Ankarstrom observed, that he had taken no precaution for his own safety, neither by concealment nor flight; but, if he had previously intended to suffer the punishment due to the act, how came it he did not give himself up in the opera-house, and avow the deed as soon as it was perpetrated? He might, indeed, wish to favor the escape of his friends who were in the saloon. He admitted his own criminality; he openly exulted in its success; but most firmly exculpated every other person, and if Colonel Lillehorn had not betrayed the whole of the active conspirators, Ankarstrom would probably have been the only criminal on whose head the stroke of justice could have alighted. Between the first and second examination, M. Lillesparre, the minister of police, gave orders that Ankarstrom should not be allowed either knife, fork, or any thing whereby he might destroy himself. Upon his next examination, he drew a lancet from the sleeve of his pelisse, which he handed to

Lillesparre, saying, "Behold how futile would all your precautions have proved, if my hand had not been restrained by religion from attempting suicide. I might have escaped your power and your vengeance; but my firm reliance on Christianity, and on another and a better world, has taught me that I am a sinner, and I must suffer for my sins. The law of God and man require my death on the scaffold, and I am content to meet my doom." Surprised at this conduct, M. Lillesparre gave secret orders to discover, if possible, by whom this instrument had been handed to the prisoner: but all inquiries proved useless. This lancet had been handed to him in prison, from Baron Bjelke, by a trusty agent, who belonged to the police. By drawing the lancet across a jugular artery, Baron Bjelke intimated the dreadful purpose to which he expected and wished it should be applied by Ankarstrom.

Baron Bjelke was in the saloon when Gustavus received his death wound; he saw him fall, and he secretly rejoiced as he heard the surgeon, in an ante-chamber, say, he had no hope whatever that the king could recover. He accompanied the king back to the great palace, to glean all the intelligence he could for the information of his accomplices. When Baron Bjelke was denounced by Lillehorn, the king was greatly affected, well remembering how artfully this traitor had excited him to go forth and meet his fate. The indignation of the *king's friend*, (as Armfelt and other minions,

his worst enemies, were called) was no less vivid against Baron Bjelke than Ankarstrom. The baron was well informed of every thing intended, and just before his own arrest, swallowed a dose of poison, and sent the lancet to Ankarstrom. At the moment the baron was brought before the minister of police as a state prisoner, Armfelt was present. When he was asked if he were privy to the conspiracy formed against the king, he replied in a tone of savage triumph, "Aye! I sent the monster to the masquerade; the blessed hand of Ankarstrom gave him his passport to eternity." Armfelt, pale with rage and dismay, said fiercely, "Confess who else was concerned in the murder, or the rack shall tear thee limb from limb." With a ghastly smile expressive of intense scorn and inextinguishable hatred, his features distorted and blackened by convulsion, Baron Bjelke fixed his glaring eye balls on Armfelt, and exclaimed in a voice horribly dissonant, "Caitiff! I defy thee! the hand of death is already strong upon me; my secrets die with me: my friends live to revenge on thee!" With these words he fell, and presently expired; writhing in horrible agonies, foaming at the mouth, his eyeballs almost starting from their sockets At this sight, an indiscribable horror seized on every one present. Armfelt, pale and trembling, ordered the corpse to be instantly cast out of the room; which, being thrown upon a common sledge, was drawn to the place of execution, and there exposed on a stage to public view, and afterwards

buried under the gallows; where, however, it did not long remain, but was privately removed, and interred in consecrated earth. The Counts Claes Fredericksen Horn, and Adolf Ludwig Ribbing, Baron Carl Ehrensvard, Jacob Von Engerstrom; Major Von Hermansdorff, General Baron Pechlin, and a petty judge named Nordel, were the chief persons arrested, (exclusive of Captain Ankarstrom and Baron Bjelke), and chiefly on the information obtained from Lieutenant-Colonel Carl Pontus Lillehorn.

Ankarstrom was secretly informed by Baron Bjelke of the treachery committed by Colonel Lillehorn. He shed tears profusely, bitterly bewailing the destruction it would bring upon his friends and accomplices. And as if he were more ashamed of a falsehood having escaped his lips, than an act of assassination performed by his hand, he seized the earliest opportunity to inveigh with much bitterness against Colonel Lillehorn for having sanctioned every project formed against the king, apparently for no other purpose but to destroy those whom he betrayed. Ankarstrom apologised for his former declaration, by avowing that he had himself been the principal instigator of his noble accomplices, and he wished to have been the only victim of offended justice. He then confirmed most of the particulars that had been already proved by incontrovertible evidence; but nothing could extort any thing additional. It was repeatedly attempted to wring from his lips some

confirmation of the suspicions entertained against General Baron Pechlin, but in vain. Soon after these examinations, a paper was privately circulated at Stockholm, which had been written by Ankarstrom, which is subjoined.* It is still an

* *Copy of a Paper circulated at Stockholm, as to the Confession of John Jacob Ankarstrom.*

"Notwithstanding I was asked, at my first examination in the chamber of police, if I had written, or was privy to the anonymous letter which was sent to the king, the evening preceding the unfortunate masquerade; and which letter was to this effect:—"I am certainly dissatisfied with your government; I cannot, however, approve of the shocking plan which is to be put in practice against you this night at the masquerade. I therefore beg of you not to go there; it was intended to have been executed last week; but as the masquerade was then postponed, it is resolved on for to night."—I denied, as well in the chamber of police, as afterwards, before the Hoff Rätt, having had any accomplice in that shocking action. But, when I was last Monday evening taken before Lillesparre (chief of police), to be again examined, I was informed that the person who had written the letter was arrested. Some letters which I had written to Count Horn, were shown to me; also a cutlass, which the count had borrowed, and some other matters that he had disclosed; all which I acknowledged. I was afterwards informed that the count was under arrest, and his residence had been searched; which circumstances led me to believe, that he had confessed the whole affair: if it was not so, the whole was betrayed by the *infamous* author of the anonymous letter. I say *infamous*, for if he had acted with candor, he would have dissuaded

interesting document. The manner in which he speaks of the act he had committed, shews that he considered it as a great offence. The original manuscript contained much more matter than appears

us from such a step, and without being compelled, he would not have discovered it. These reasons convinced me, that all further concealment would be useless: I shall therefore candidly state my reasons for undertaking that shocking action.

"In the year 1789, when infamous pasquinades were permitted to be published against the army and its officers, the violence used by the king towards the members of the diet, and others of his subjects, must certainly have aroused the indignation of every Swede not rendered callous by self-interest. These acts produced loud murmurs; the *act of safety*, (försäkrings act), followed, which annulled every article in the constitution of 1772, by which the power of the king was limited. Exclusive of the revenue of the crown, the king, at every diet, obtained money of his subjects; notwithstanding which, an enormous debt was brought forward, which the king had incurred: and finally, he went to the hall of the nobles, with the view of obtaining their consent to the payment; having found by experience, that the marshal of the diet, notwithstanding the infamous measures to which he had recourse, could not influence the nobles to agree to any grant for an unlimited time: and although the king went to the hall, followed by a lawless rabble, who had been treated with strong liquors at the king's expense, who filled the streets and squares of the city with noise and uproar, rushing into the house when the king approached, so that it was with the utmost difficulty the rabble were prevented from getting into the hall itself: the question was answered

in that which was circulated. In the former, he went into the history of those transactions which first created that personal enmity he felt towards the king; the wrongs and insults he had endured from

with more *yeas* than *nays*. In consequence of which, many members desired it might be put to the vote; but it was looked upon by the court party as granted. Some of the members of the diet were afterwards confined in different castles, without any one knowing for what reason. As to those who were released, it was to be received as a favor conferred on the nobility generally, and themselves personally. All this, and much more was done, after one of the greatest offences the king could commit, and which was a complete violation of the constitution, namely, commencing a war without the consent of the states, and without sufficient reason. These things could not fail to produce great uneasiness in the public mind, and hostile feelings against the person who had practised them, in the breast of every one who had sense to feel for the safety and liberty of his fellow-citizens; especially when rendered still more disgusting when emanating from a king who is respected, esteemed, and of consequence *on account of the nation by whom he is maintained;* for a king is in himself *only a sinner*, but has the confidence of the nation to respect the laws, liberty and safety; and of course to take care that things are properly conducted when the representatives of the nation are not assembled. This violation by the king of all the duties of his office, filled every mind with melancholy reflections, and totally alienated my affections from the king. My aversion was still farther increased, by seeing so many thousands of my fellow-countrymen consigned to a premature grave, by *murder* rather than combat; and my fellow-citizens

that source, and the manœuvres by which he had been arraigned, and his condemnation procured; those parts were, however, omitted, and the rest was, probably, mutilated.

oppressed by intolerable grants and taxes, and ruined by *paper-money*;—and all to gain what was called from the throne, *a glorious peace.* Useless and expensive journies into foreign parts were undertaken, which consumed enormous treasure; and loans were made to a still larger amount. When by these acts of folly and profusion, we were reduced to the most unfortunate condition; only *three* weeks before its commencement, a diet was proclaimed; so that elections and journies were obliged to be made with the utmost haste without any adequate necessity. Besides which the king adopted every possible means of preventing the independent and well-informed from attending the diet, which was appointed to be held at a remote place, that it might be expensive and inconvenient to the independent members; and also to requite the citizens of Stockholm for their indefatigable zeal and expense during the war, which was very great, by which means the debts of the state would be increased.

These facts forced the following reflections on my mind:—*Can he be king* of the country who is capable of violating the oath he took to the people, to observe, to govern by, and to comply with the constitution he settled in 1772; which this same king had himself drawn up; which the nation received without alteration; and by whom the nation is deprived of its safeguard? My mind answered no! I *am convinced that by all laws, human or divine, the murderer, the false-swearer, the violator of the laws, can never be our king!* As soon as the king has violated his oath and covenant in one instance, *the*

Meantime, the foreign ministers at Stockholm, particularly the Spanish and Prussian, remonstrated against being debarred from dispatching couriers to their respective courts; and the latter

*whole compact ceases:* the people swore that if the king governed according to the constitution, they will regard and receive him as their king, and be faithful to him. In one section of the constitution of 1772, there are words to the following purport, viz. "whoever endeavours to change or overturn this fundamental law, shall be looked on as an enemy to his country."—When the *act of safety* was passed, and the king governed according to that act; and no longer by the constitution of 1772, the king convicted himself of being an enemy to his people and his kingdom: in consequence *he is their enemy;* and as it is the duty of every man in society to endeavour to defend his fellow-citizens from such as commit violence upon the person or property of his neighbour; and when there is no legal remedy, no means to arraign or punish by the law, it becomes lawful to oppose violence by violence. These reflections determined me shortly after Christmas *to kill the king.* I did not depend upon any one else, nor lay any plan; I, however, reflected much, whether the king might not by fair means be brought to govern with mildness, and according to the law; the reasons which forbade this hope were, that, to effect this plan, a number of persons would have been necessary, which would have caused a discovery, and put us all in the same unfortunate situation as the officers of Finland, without doing any good. The king was more than gracious to individuals; but when any thing was required or insisted upon that was indispensible to the public

*demanded* a passport, which it was not thought advisable to withhold. It was in vain that bulletins were published, holding out illusive hopes of the king's ultimate recovery. Ankarstrom seemed

welfare, he became angry, as every thing was to be done according to his will and pleasure, no matter how prejudicial, which I judged to be the case from what had happened in 1789. I, therefore, thought it best to risk my life for the public good: I valued as nothing dragging on a miserable existence for ten years longer when compared with the pleasure of making a nation happy. My own misfortunes which happened at the end of the year 1790 and 1791, together with those reflections and wishes for the public happiness, made me determine to devote myself rather than suffer a miserable existence, and behold my native country overwhelmed with new calamities arising from a wicked and selfish despot. This rendered my otherwise tender heart insensible to the horror of this dreadful action."

*Extracts from the minutes of the sentences, pronounced on persons convicted of having been concerned in a conspiracy against Gustavus the Third: taken at the palace of Drottingholm, 15th August, 1792.*

Counts Claes Fredericksen Horn, and Adolf Ludvig Ribbing, to forfeit their nobility, to be declared infamous, to have their right hand cut off, and be beheaded and quartered.

Lieut. Colonel Carl Pontus Lillehorn, Baron Carl Ehrensward, to be declared infamous, to lose their nobility, and be beheaded.

to anticipate this manœuvre, by the care he took to spread abroad the horrid fact, that he had loaded the pistol with *rusty nails*, in order to prevent the possibility of a cure in case he should fail in his intention of killing the king upon the spot.

Jacob von Engerstroem, to lose his nobility, knighthood, office, and be confined during life in some fortress.

Major Christopher Von Hermansdorff, to lose his majority, and be confined one year.

The Magistrate Nordell, not adjudged.

Baron Pechlin, to be confined at Marstrand, and exhorted by the clergy to confess.

"As we, at the death-bed of his late majesty, discoursed with him relative to his recent misfortune, and the important consequences arising from it, his majesty, whose tender heart was always ready to pardon, was pleased to declare, that the thoughts of the punishment, however well deserved, which awaited those concerned in the crime, afflicted him very much, even more than his own sufferings; adding, that he should not be released from those agonizing reflections till we had promised, nay, sworn to him by our fraternal love and princely honor, that in case of his death, we would suffer his last request to be carried into full effect, namely, to save the lives of those unfortunate subjects who had been so forgetful of their allegiance. Moved even to tears by so generous a solicitude, I ventured, nevertheless, to expostulate, and represented to his majesty, that neither the laws of God nor man would admit nor suffer that so atrocious a crime

Meanwhile, the situation of Gustavus was, in every respect, supremely wretched. He had provided an heir to his throne, by means such as, perhaps, were never attempted by any other mo-

should escape the terrible punishment it so well merited; and that the honor of the Swedish name, as well as the public safety, absolutely required it. His late majesty, greatly moved by these well meant representations, with pain declared that if the rigorous law of retaliation required blood for blood, and his intercession, who was the person most concerned, was not sufficient; and consequently that the criminal who had been unfortunate enough to lay violent hands on his person, could not possibly be spared from death, he then insisted that the death of this individual should be the only one which his death should occasion; giving their lives to all the others who were accused or concerned of participating in this crime without regard to their number, which, at that time it had not been possible to discover, or correctly ascertain. His majesty finally added, that it was not only his last request to me as a brother, but his command as a king, for his power to pardon as long as he existed could neither vanish, nor could he be deprived of it; requiring from me at the same time, the most solemn assurances and sacred promises, which I neither could nor ought any longer refuse. This remarkable and affecting conversation which places the generosity and heart of Gustavus the Third in the most advantageous light, and honors his memory even more than the victory of Svenk Sund, is the foundation on which our gracious resolution and will is to be laid. As a christian, a subject, a brother, a man, we neither can nor ought to recede from the last commands

narch. His brother Charles had *then* acceded to the plan; but *now*, the throne was about to become vacant, and if his brother pleased, he might legally claim the crown. This prospect of

of a dying monarch. He had full privilege to grant a pardon in his own case. When he was in this world, his will was our law; and his brother shall not be stained with the reproach that he deceived him in death.

"We declare therefore, and only in consequence of the reasons just given, that the well deserved capital punishment to which the former Counts Claes Fredericksen Horn, and Adolf Ludvig Ribbing; Lieutenant-colonel Pontus Lillehorn, and Baron Carl Frederick Ehrensward, who have been condemned by the Swea Hoff Rätt shall be changed into banishment for life, with the loss of their nobility, and all other privileges as citizens, letting them be immediately escorted out of the limits of an injured native country, without the least hope of ever being suffered to return to it; forbidding them at the same time, on pain of the death they have now escaped, to dare to make any kind of petition for it: we leave to repentance and their awakened conscience the charge of their further punishment, convinced that such corroding reproaches and guilty lives will be for them a far heavier burden than death itself. We hasten also to let them be immediately banished, that, if it be possible, the remembrance of so unheard-of an act, may by that means be effaced, and which by their detention in castles within the kingdom, would constantly, with new affliction, revive the memory of a misfortune, which is of itself, without any addition, sufficiently heart-breaking. Let those criminals, therefore, immediately and for ever withdraw from the confines of Sweden, whose peace and happiness they have de-

an ignominious exposure is said to have preyed on his mind to such a degree, that it increased the fever occasioned by his wounds, and his mind wandered. He talked incoherently of matters connected with the birth of the crown prince, and of a *divorce;*—he often called on *Muncke*, Armfelt, and Rosenstein; and in defiance of every precaution, these ravings of a disordered mind were reported abroad. A direct application was made by the opposition nobles to the duke of Sodermanland, to convene a diet, in case of the king's death, stating, that if he would accept the constitution of 1772, with such additional restrictrictions as the aggressions of his unfortunate

stroyed; and to complete the measure of their crimes and punishments, let them be informed that it was the king, against whose life they dared conspire, who, dying, has done good for evil, and given the lives of men by whom his own was taken.

"With respect to the others who are accused of this treason; because we, in consequence of his late most sacred majesty's last will and commands before recited, are not entitled to mitigate the rigor of their sentence, neither can we in a case of this nature, permit ourselves to follow the innate bias of our heart for clemency and mercy, but for this reason confirm hereby the final sentence of the supreme court, which has been just read; in consequence of which the counsellor of chancery, J. von Engerstroem, is deprived of his post, and to be confined for three years. Major Hermansdorff is also to lose his commission, and be confined for one year; the royal secretary, Von Engerstroem, to be suspended from his office in the college of chancery,

brother had rendered necessary, they would set aside the succession of the crown prince, and give him the crown. General Baron Armfelt learnt something of this overture, and having always had admission to the king's bedchamber, he would not refrain, though entreated, from disturbing the king by so painful a communication. His real object was, if possible, to exclude the duke from the regency; and by nominating those noblemen who were his own partisans, to attain to the sovereignty in his own hands, and thereby to elevate himself in the eyes of the empress Catharine by the ruin of Sweden.

for one year; Baron Pechlin (Major-general), to be imprisoned during pleasure, till he is brought to confess. But the magistrate, Nordell, according to the sentences of the king's bench and supreme court, is entirely acquitted.

"His royal highness was at the same time graciously pleased to order that the former counsellor of chancery, Von Engerstroem, should be confined in the castle of Waxholm; the late Major Von Hermansdorff, in the castle of Malmo; and Major-general Baron Pechlin, in the castle of Warborg."

"Signed by N. Jannson, Fred. Sparre (lord chancellor)—G. A. Reuterholm; J. Rogberg, Carl Ulner, Carl A. Wachtmeister, A. F. Kurk, E. Ruuth.—At the bottom: "Let this be expedited." Palace of Drottingholm, 15th August, 1792, during my most gracious king and master's minority.

"CHARLES."

Gustavus was vehemently affected at the particulars communicated by Armfelt. He could not rest till his brother Charles was sent for, to whom he made an appeal, solemn and pathetic, whilst the painful emotions by which his heart was torn, almost rendered his voice inarticulate. The duke was deeply affected at the melancholy condition of his brother. He leaned towards him with every mark of powerful sympathy; he pressed his feverish hand, bedewed it with his tears, and readily promised all that was required. Whether Gustavus believed him or not, he seemed to be pacified, and became more composed. They then conversed on the state of public affairs, and of the regency, which the duke refused to accept, unless he were appointed sole regent, and General Baron Armfelt excluded from all political power. The king then told the duke what Armfelt had communicated, and throwing himself on the honor of his brother, readily agreed to all which he had proposed. When the duke left Gustavus, he went to attend a meeting of some of the leading nobles, telling them, in the most decided tone, that however grateful he might feel for their preference, he could not accept it. A long conference ensued, and it was agreed that the war against France should be totally relinquished; the army reduced, and the fleets dismantled; the royal establishment diminished; the building of the grand palace at Haga, and the cathedral church in Stockholm abandoned; that General Baron Armfelt should be excluded from any office

in the state; and as one of the conspirators *must* suffer death, it should be Ankarstrom alone, but that his property should descend to his children, and all the other delinquents should have their lives and property saved, and only be subjected to perpetual banishment.

The duke made these conditions known to his dying brother: some of them were very unpalateable, particularly those which related to the neutrality determined on, instead of the war in which he had resolved to plunge Sweden. Without a pang Gustavus acceded to the conditional pardon demanded for the conspirators; as the peaceable succession of the crown prince was thereby secured; and but for the remonstrances of Count Wachtmeister, and other high law authorities of Sweden, he would have extended forgiveness to Ankarstrom himself. These stipulations being arranged and ratified, the counts Brahe and Fersen waited upon the king. A slight blush tinged the cheeks of Gustavus when these noblemen were conducted by duke Charles to his bed-side. Their manner was solemn and respectful. If their hearts belied their tongues, their features bespoke the most profound grief, and lively sympathy. The king was not behind hand in professions. In a faint voice, he said, "*I can almost rejoice at the wound that has stretched me here, and think its smart overpaid, since it has reconciled me to my friends.*" Gustavus was still the elegant gentleman, being the first in graceful attain-

ments as in rank! How different were the looks and expressions that he now addressed to those noblemen, than when he brow-beat, insulted, and reviled them, and refusing to hear them speak, waved his hand, and averted his face, as a peremptory signal for them to withdraw! No doubt his proud heart felt severely the necessity that impelled him thus to conciliate those whom he feared and hated. It was, however, the only plan whereby he could hope to secure the throne of Sweden for the crown prince; and they assured the king, on their word of honor, and in the most solemn manner, they would repel any attempt that might be made to exclude his heir, provided the articles agreed upon were faithfully observed. The nobles were the more ready for these concessions, from their apprehensions of the consequences of that revolutionary spirit which was rapidly spreading in Sweden, thinking, that if the succession of the crown prince were set aside, attempts might be made to abolish both the monarchy and aristocracy, and erect a republican government. Gustavus felt greatly relieved by the assurances given by those powerful noblemen. It made his mind much easier regarding the succession of the crown prince. He was seldom free from the most excruciating tortures, and, perhaps, the reflections that pressed upon his troubled mind were still more agonizing. His sufferings were intense, but they were borne with exemplary fortitude. As far as his melancholy condition admitted, he paid

attention to the adjustment of his affairs. A quantity of papers, that from the care taken to conceal their contents, have since excited so many conjectures, both in Sweden and out of it, were carefully packed up and sealed with the king's private seal. They were then deposited in an iron chest, that was placed on a stand near the side of the dying monarch's bed. He saw the whole placed therein by the hands of his brother. There were three locks and as many keys to this mysterious chest: one of which, Gustavus handed to the duke, another to Count Wachtmeister, the lord chancellor, and the third to the archbishop of Upsala; each of whom set their seal above the respective key-holes; and this depository was then, as a security against fire, placed within another; and it was the king's solemn injunction that it should not be opened until FIFTY YEARS after his decease, and he ordered it to be deposited in the custody of the chancellor of the university of Upsala; and it was afterwards placed in the library.* This transaction accordingly embittered the king's mind too much, and he became worse immediately after its termination.

It appeared singular in the eyes of the king's attendants that he would not admit the crown prince to his presence; whose inquiries as to the

* The circumstances attendant on this chest were stated vol. i. p. 43, at a time when a different arrangement of this work was intended from that which has since been adopted.

cause of his exclusion were as touching, as his sorrow at the melancholy condition of his supposed father, was heart-felt and sincere. Nor was even the queen admitted to the chamber of the king: the reason assigned was, lest the violence of her grief should agitate and disturb him too much. All the science of the surgeons had been exerted in vain to extract the iron nails that were known to have entered his body; whilst the agonies their efforts occasioned were as terrible to endure as any studied tortures. The attendant physicians prescribed medicines calculated to abate fever, and repel the tendency to mortification. On the morning of the 28th, that fearful symptom presented itself in its most alarming form. The absorbent vessels had already taken up the poison, and livid spots appeared about his loins: even his features were changed, as well as his voice. The chamberlain, Benzelstjerna, had the painful task of communicating to the sufferer the hopelessness of his case, and the near approach of death. The king seemed much affected at the declaration. "How long is it possible that I can live?" said he to Benzelstjerna.—"Would to God, sire," he replied, "I could restore you to health by laying down my own life, you should be instantly healed! It breaks my heart to say that twenty-four hours is the utmost extent to which your majesty's sufferings can be protracted." The faithful attendant covered his face, and wept. Sorrow is contagious: nor was it wonderful, after the

dreadful torments Gustavus had endured, that his mind should begin to lose its energy, and his fortitude to forsake him. For the first time, he was seen to weep profusely, and he bitterly reproached himself for his ill-spent life. He feelingly lamented the errors that had marked his reign: his wandering mind recurred to the events of his early life, ere vice had made a lodgment in his bosom; and it brought his illustrious mother so forcibly to his memory, that he addressed her as if she had been living.—"Ah madam," said he, "if I had followed your excellent council, I might have avoided this dreadful death." Then he named a list of minions whose baseness he execrated and deplored, but chiefly Armfelt, whom he also addressed as if he were present, saying, "Begone from my presence, thou vile parasite; begone! and never come more within my sight: from thy polluted example I learnt nothing but wickedness, and this is the end to which it has brought me." In this manner, wandering from one subject to another, the king wept and raved till he became delirious. He seemed to doze at intervals for a short time, but his distracted brain was still perturbed, and by the distortions of his features, his troubled dreams seemed to present nothing but frightful images. Every hour marked the progress of the deadly poison that had infected his mass of blood. About noon his understanding seemed more perfect, and his agonies less severe. He then asked

to see the Duke Charles, his brother. The latter, dissolved in tears, and almost speechless from grief, approached the bed and knelt by his side. Their tears were mingled as Charles affectionately kissed the forehead of his dying brother. The scene was too affecting for the attendants, who spontaneously withdrew to a greater distance, that their grief might not disturb the royal brothers. The king desired they might totally withdraw, and during upwards of an hour Gustavus and Charles remained together alone. General Baron Armfelt desired to be admitted; he was told in an anti-chamber, that his royal highness, the duke, was with the king. The suspicious and arrogant minion still persisted, when the chamberlain, Benzelstjerna, told him he *must* not enter until he had first received the king's commands. When the well-known name was gently announced, the king exclaimed; "*Armfelt!—What does he want more of me!* God grant I had never seen him! Tell him that his dying king admonishes him to repent, and desires to be spared the pain of seeing him more; but say also, that I forgive, and hope to be forgiven." The chamberlain delivered this unwelcome message, and as Armfelt heard it, the cheeks of the haughty minion assumed a deadly paleness. "The king is delirious," said he, "or I am imposed on. I insist on entering by virtue of my office." "Pardon me," said the chamberlain; "the duke Charles is *now* sole regent: I must take his royal highness's commands." This was de-

cisive. Mortified and abashed Armfelt withdrew, a solitary groom of the chambers opening the doors. Three days before, a double row of pliant courtiers formed a lane of obsequious attendants, each of whom affected to worship the man whom the king honoured!

Up to the period of those appearances that presented unequivocal proofs of near and certain death, it is probable that Gustavus secretly entertained strong hopes of recovery; and that he had not been apprized of the imminent danger of a mortification taking place, nor the rapidity of its possible progress. From that moment, composure, resignation, and fortitude, all forsook him; and when the chief physician advised the duke to retire, as such excessive emotion would only add to the king's sufferings and accelerate the fatal moment, Gustavus exclaimed, in a mournful tone of voice, "Ah! what now avails the pomp that surrounds me. Willingly would I exchange condition with the poorest healthy young cottager in Sweden. Say! can you not procure me, by your art, a short respite? Can nothing avert the blow for three short days?—I ask no more! I have, alas! some painful matters yet to arrange: can neither the knife nor medicine avail?" The physician shook his head, and remained silent; his looks proclaiming the fatal truth. Gustavus then burst anew into tears, whilst the groans extorted by increasing inflammation filled the bosoms of his attendants with horror and dismay. If Ankarstrom could have

seen the king in this dreadful extremity, even his stern bosom would have pitied his victim, and execrated that remorseless vengeance which his hand had inflicted.

Towards the evening he grew more calm, and more earnest in his inquiries of his chaplain, as to his prospects of salvation. He became his own accuser, and perhaps his fiercest enemy might have been less severe. His chaplain exerted all his eloquence to fill with the balm of hope the desolated bosom of his king. To deaden the sense of bodily pain powerful opiates were frequently administered; but still, at intervals, his sufferings continued with unabated intensity. The last night of his existence must have been felt by him as an age of torture. The morning of the 29th was doomed to be the last of his life. Excess of pain, bodily and mental, had enfeebled all his faculties; and his best and kindest friends, hopeless of his recovery, might, from motives of the purest benevolence, have prayed for his speedy dissolution. A lucid interval occurring about eight o'clock, the sacrament, according to the rites of the Lutheran church, was administered; and then, and not till then, the queen was introduced! What a spectacle awaited her! That elegantly-formed prince, whose finely-proportioned person might have served as a model of the human form in its shape nearest to perfect symmetry, lay stretched before her, pale and ghastly, on the bed of death. Those eyes that were wont to beam with intellec-

tual fire, had lost their brilliancy, and flashed intelligence no more; and his fine features, that bespoke an elevated soul, were distorted, and discoloured! presenting a spectacle calculated to excite no less horror than commiseration. The reflections that memory recalled were bitter, and full of misery. The gay, voluptuous prince, by whom her youthful charms had been suffered to fade in wedded celibacy, was now become an appalling object, and almost insensate. Although the queen had been warned of the terrible change that had recently taken place, and even that the king might be expected to expire in her presence; and although the sensibilities of her heart had long since been blunted and chilled, yet, when she beheld the dying monarch, she gave a shrill, convulsive shriek, and would have fallen prostrate, but for the Duke Charles, who caught her in his arms, and led, or rather carried her to a chair. As soon as the queen recovered, the king made signs she should approach his bed, and feebly waved his hand that the attendants might withdraw. What passed during this awful interview can only be conjectured. The king could not support a conversation; and as for this unhappy lady, her feelings must have been too much agitated for her to give utterance to her thoughts. The duke alone possessed any degree of self-command; and he must have interpreted between the dying king, and the disconsolate queen. Perhaps she was merely called to witness his contrition; to exchange for-

giveness, and to be satisfied that after the decease of Gustavus, *her son* would find no obstacle in his succession to the crown. The interview was not resolved on, till the vital spark was more than half extinguished; in which state, it could not be of long duration. As the duke led the weeping queen back to her apartment from the chamber of death, her face was covered by a thick veil, but her sobs, her heaving bosom, and unsteady steps, sufficiently denoted the excessive mental agony by which her whole frame was so violently shaken. Perhaps this interview hastened the release of the king from indescribable wretchedness and agony. After the queen had retired, Gustavus spoke no more: every minute his efforts to respire grew more and more feeble, and in less than an hour the king drew his last breath, apparently expiring in the cruelest tortures, arising from an active inflammation. Thus was nature still merciful, as the mortification of which he died relieved him from pangs as severe as ever any mortal endured. No friend nor relative was there to perform the last solemn duties of humanity; which were honorably discharged by his attendants. His last moments were witnessed, and his eyes closed by his first chaplain, physician, and M. Benzelstjerna. Those gentlemen were kneeling round the bed of the royal sufferer, when the frightful rattling in his throat ceased. The clergyman, lifting up his hands and eyes as to his Creator, exclaimed, with strong emotion,

"Thank God! his earthly sufferings are at an end; "May his sins be forgiven him, and his soul be at "rest!" the chamberlain and physician each, in an audible and solemn manner, said, "Amen! Amen!" Such were the last moments of this celebrated monarch, who certainly was as brave as the greatest of his predecessors, and, beyond comparison, the most accomplished king who had ever sat upon the Swedish throne.

The duke of Sodermanland, and the great officers of state were in attendance, to whom the chamberlain Benzlestjerna announced the death of the king; and before his corse was cold, the artillery on the forts, and the heralds by sound of trumpet, proclaimed the new sovereign as King of the Swedes, the Goths, and the Vandals, by the name and style of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus!

Thus was the last wish of Gustavus the Third fulfilled,—a monarch who possessed from nature and education so many fine qualities, that his reign would have been the happiest on record, if he had been as just as he was polished and magnificent; and his memory would have been revered in Sweden; and his character admired by all Europe, if in his early days his morals had not been contaminated by associating with a circle of profligate young courtiers, whose polluted habits banished all sense of rectitude from his mind, and planted in its stead the worst of vices that degrade mankind. To the effects of his corrupt and pro-

fligate associates, but principally to the contagious infamy of *Armfelt*, the depravity of this monarch ought to be attributed. By them his mind was demoralized, and thence flowed that horrible taint which is too well established to admit a shadow of doubt as to its truth; which accompanied him in life, and pursues his memory even beyond the grave.

As soon as Gustavus the Third was dead, and his *adopted* son proclaimed king, the duke of Sodermanland assumed the reins of government, as sole regent of Sweden.* One of his first acts of power was to bring to condign punishment the assassin of his brother;† who was kept confined in

When the revolution of 1809 was announced to Napoleon, he said to the Swedish minister, "I rejoice at this event the more sincerely because it will put an end to the calamities of Sweden; and happy had it been for that nation, if the present wise and gallant monarch had ascended the throne when his brother died." Bonaparte used the same expressions in his exposé. Napoleon certainly knew that, according to hereditary succession, the crown helonged to the Duke Charles; and he probably alluded to the illegitimacy of the dethroned monarch.

† It was generally reported in Sweden, about this period, that the regent was as much concerned in the conspiracy against his brother as Ankarstrom himself. This report originated in the machinations of General Baron Armfelt and his partisans. The writer of this work, during almost a year's residence in Sweden, never found any well-informed person of that opinion: if the Duke were wicked enough to act thus, what could have hindered his wearing the crown? Mr. LEWIS GOLDSMITH has asserted his guilt in the most unqualified terms, but he was, perhaps, misled by the reports circulated by that execrable traitor, Baron Armfelt.

a prison called the Smedjesgaard, * (the Newgate of Stockholm), situated in a street leading to the south west, from the Drottning Gatan to Roerstrands Sjon. The edifice appeared neither as large

* On the 9th July, 1808, accompanied by Sir Bengt Geyer of Roestrand, the author visited this prison. Owing to the presence of his friend, the principal keeper attended to shew the whole edifice. The *felon's room* was rather small; on each side was a kind of *guard-house bed*, that is, composed of *bare planks*. On this some of the prisoners lay stretched; others were walking up and down; and out of *thirty* or *forty* inclosed in this one room, only *one* was *ironed*. He had a bar about an inch square and three feet long, fixed to one ancle. To sustain it when he moved, a string was tied to the extremity, by which he lifted it up as he stepped along. This was put on his leg on account of ill behaviour in the prison. The prisoners, in general, were under forty years of age; sallow, unhealthy, diseased;—one miserable wretch, worn to the bone, lay on the floor, upon some sacks; Mr. B. asked what ailed him? They said, "*He is dying!*" A sight more afflicting could scarcely be conceived, and he hastened from it. He visited the rooms above that occupied by the felons: they were not uncomfortable, and admitted a fine prospect over the Clara lake, towards Sodermalm, and some part of Stockholm. The doors were fastened by *massive bolts* outside.—Sometimes one, in others two prisoners were found. They appeared to be decent, respectable looking men; books and papers lay spread on their tables; they had bedding. Mr. B. asked of what crime they had been guilty,—to his surprise he was told they were—*debtors!*

Ashamed of the intrusion, he apologized and withdrew. A room arched like the felons, but twice as large, was appropriated to the *women*: there were but two;—one was busied knitting; the other lay on a small mattress, wrapped round with a rug, upon a wooden frame, which ran along the room, as indeed was the case in all the rooms he saw. This poor wretch was very ill. He saw the chapel.

nor strong as Warburton's madhouse at Hoxton; and the prisoners are never put in irons till after conviction; nor even then, unless it forms a part of their sentence; for the law actually considers every person accused to be innocent until the contrary is proved. And in Sweden, a man that has

And never was any place more gloomy dedicated to such a purpose. Yet the few *ornaments*, were if possible, *more* tawdry, than the room was miserable. He enquired for the room where *Ankarstrom* the regicide had been confined, and was conducted thither. It is on the ground floor, on the right hand side of the entrance. It was tenanted by a number of young countrymen, innocent in appearance, but sickly. He was told upon enquiry, these were supplementary recruits, placed there for recovery of their health, the hospitals being full of wounded men brought from Fin'and.

The prisoners in general appeared to suffer want; and the internal arrangement of the prison to be such as to require a thorough reformation.

His friend's residence at *Roestrand* was once a royal palace. Including his porcelain mannfactory and magazines, it was as large as a small town. Except from *Mosa Bäcke* there is no where so fine a view of Stockholm, as from the principal story of this large house. He requested Sir Bengt to go towards his home, round the shores of the Maler, and he consented. They set off, and lost their way. They hailed a boat; the rower took them on board; it was little better than a sieve. They brought the crazy boat so low in the water, that it nearly filled; and they narrowly escaped being drowned. Indeed, the day on which they visited the *Newgate* of Sweden, was a day of disasters. Mr. B. was engaged to dine with Sir Bengt Geyer and his lady, to settle about their intended journey into *Wermerland*. He took Mr. B. up in his chariot, and before they were half way, the spring broke; his friend was then compelled to do what Mr. B. had in vain requested, i. e. to walk home. This accident led to their visit at the *Smedje Gaard*, and the aquatic excursion which had like to have cost them their lives.

been shackled with fetters or manacles, is considered ever after as degraded and infamous. Ankarstrom was guarded by sentinels, and spent much of his time in reading religious books, in prayer, and in the contemplation of a future existence, which seemed to employ his thoughts much more than the terrible punishment which he knew awaited him. When he was told of the dreadful agonies in which the king lay, he said in a mild tone of voice, "I am very sorry indeed to hear this: my intention was to kill the tyrant, not to torture him. He cannot recover; and I shall die amidst studied torments; but the consciousness of having put an end to his wicked career, and saved the lives of many thousands, and rescued my native country from slavery, will enable me to support them."—There was a solemnity and gentleness in his manner that operated powerfully on those who attended him. He did not seem to regard the narrow limits of his prison, nor the ignominious death that impended, but looked forward to another and a better world, "*there*," borrowing the words of scripture, he observed, "*the wicked cease from troubling, and there the weary be at rest.*"—Such was the dignity of his conduct, that he appeared rather as a martyr suffering for the sake of his faith, than a frail mortal who had embrued his hands in the blood of his fellow-creature.

When the report of cannon reached his ears, he knew his victim had breathed his last, and that a new

king was proclaimed: Ankarstrom instantly fell on his knees, and leaning his head, exclaimed, "Thank God! his torments are at last ended; and may his Creator save his soul, and forgive his manifold offences! I can now die at peace." Such was the singular union of crime and virtue, of fanaticism and religion, that met in his mind, and which continued to operate to the last hour of his existence. Nor was he kept long in suspense as to his doom. On the 18th of April, 1792, the sentence of death was pronounced, to be accompanied by torture protracted during three days! He heard it unmoved; and passed the few remaining hours in solemn prayer. The next morning he was conducted to the Riddarhus Torg, where a scaffold had been erected near to the equestrian statue of the great founder of the Gustavian line, and opposite to the palace of the equestrian order. A gallows was erected on the scaffold, on the top of which, above the head of the culprit, the pistol and notched knife were exhibited with a board inscribed, "Johan Jacob Ankarstrom,—Kongungs mordnar," i. e. *the murderer of the king*. From the gallows a massive chain of iron depended; which, by means of a thick hoop or collar of the same metal, was fastened round his neck. His head was bare; but he was allowed to wear a wolf-skin pelisse. He ascended the scaffold with a firm step, and undaunted, yet unassuming, air. The ring was affixed round his neck; and he stood, thus exposed, during two hours; which, in

a climate as cold as that of Stockholm, was in itself no slight punishment. He was then stripped and scourged. He bore his punishment without betraying any sense of pain, and was conducted back to his prison, where he prayed for power to endure the tortures that yet remained; and for forgiveness of his own sins, and those of his enemies. The next day he was taken to the Torg, or market place, on Sodermalm, where the same treatment was repeated. He strove in vain to maintain an equal degree of composure;—but he was chilled and weakened so greatly, that the lash, laid on the parts lacerated the day before, wrung from him a few deep hollow groans, which were, scarcely audible a few yards from the scaffold. When he was carried back the second day, he fell on the floor from excess of pain and weakness. The physician had given orders that he should have nourishing things administered, with the *charitable* view to prevent the wretched man escaping, by the kinder hand of death, the torments he was doomed to suffer; and, although Ankarstrom was perfectly aware of the horrible source of their solicitude, he suffered them to act by him as they pleased, telling them, that Christ, through whose death he hoped for eternal life, had suffered a sentence still more terrible. The third day he could scarcely stand, and his altered looks demonstrated how extreme had been his sufferings. He was dragged forth, and exhibited in the same manner on the Stora Torget, opposite

the opera house, where he had committed the offence for which he was so dreadfully punished, and in full view of the king's palace. Here his bruised and lacerated back was again exposed to the scourge, inflicted with peculiar ferocity; he was then released from the whipping post, stretched on the block, his right hand first cut off, and next his head, which was instantly seized by the executioner, held up by its locks, and, whilst the blood flowed from the severed arteries and veins, it was held forth to view, as the head of a traitor and a regicide. Thus terminated as cruel a series of useless tortures as ever were inflicted. The mangled body, disembowelled and quartered, was then conveyed through the city, and the suburb called Sodermalm, to the usual place of execution,* to be devoured by the fowls of the air; where the limbs were exposed on wheels, and the head placed on a pole in the center, the right hand was nailed below the head.†

* The gallows belonging to the courts of criminal law in Stockholm, is a permanent edifice, consisting of three pillars, forming a triangle, and connected at the top by massive iron bars, to which the culprits are suspended. This structure is surrounded by a wall. The situation, amongst rocks and forest trees, is very gloomy. There are several cottages built not far from the gallows. An aged woman, who inhabited one of those huts, told the author in 1808, that she well remembered the body of Ankarstrom being there exhibited; and that she saw his ghost pacing round the walls many a time afterwards!

† The morning after the beheading of Ankarstrom, the walls of the edifices in Stockholm were inscribed with sentences, applaud

In judging of the crime for which this nobleman deservedly suffered death, both the provocations he had received, and the motives which appear to have actuated him, ought to have due weight. There is just reason to believe in the truth of the horrid outrage said to have been offered to Ankarstrom, when a youth, by his future sovereign; and also in the injustice and oppression of which he complained so indignantly, when condemned by the court-martial assembled at Frederikshof. These considerations appear to have impressed Ankarstrom with an opinion, that he should be performing an act of public justice in taking his life. That he considered the king as being not only unfit to reign, but even to live, there is superabundant evidence to prove; and also, that he felt he was committing a heinous crime, by taking on himself the power of inflicting the death that he had adjudged the king ought to suffer: and he certainly employed the time he lived in the most animated appeals to his creator for pardon, and apparently he died with the conviction that he had obtained it.* If those circumstances

ing the crime for which he died; and a large paper was seen, affixed above the hand, on which was written, in very legible characters:

"*Blessed be the hand*
*That saved his fatherland.*"

* The opinion entertained by Ankarstrom, that he could expiate the crime by subsequent penitence and prayer, was neither new nor local. In this country, how common is the expression, that

cannot justify, they must be allowed to be powerful palliatives; but still there is something so revolting from manhood and manly honor in the act of assassination, that it steels the heart, and properly too, against pity, let the sufferings of the assassin be ever so dreadful, or however great his previous wrongs. The character of him who fell is blanched, as it were, and redeemed by the more odious criminality of assassination. Ankarstrom experienced the truth of these observations in all their bitterness; for although it is possible, and even probable, that he was more forcibly impelled by public than by private feelings, he saw greater horror and detestation expressed in the countenance of the crowd, than

the gallows saves many a soul! meaning, that the certainty of death, and the awful reflections to which it gives rise, aided by the consolations of religion, and the pious prayers and admonitions of the clergy, are competent atonements for crime, and secure passports to eternal happiness. The same opinion prevails amongst the illiterate in Sweden; and before the punishment of death for robbery was abolished, many instances occurred of *honest and reputable persons* committing thefts with a view to suffer death, to secure eternal salvation, by penitence, prayer, and the assistance of the clergy. In Denmark, this strange mode of saving souls became so prevalent, that, about 1765, or 1766, a woman murdered her infant child from that principle: to counteract which, Christian the Seventh ordained that death, in those cases, should no longer be inflicted, but the offenders be scourged, branded in the forehead, confined for life, and kept to hard labour; and, for the further prevention of infanticide, he ordered that the guilty should be flogged, burnt, and confined for life to hard labor; and, on each anniversary of the day when the crime was committed, to be severely scourged.

commiseration; and the groans and hisses that occasionally assailed his ears, are said to have grieved and hurt him more than the chain and collar of iron round his neck, or even the lash of the common hangman.

The real sentiments of Gustavus the Third respecting revealed religion, are easily gathered from the facility and levity with which he made and violated the most solemn engagements. He had about the same reverence towards those inferior actors who personated the druid priests, in his theatrical processions, as for the archbishop of Upsala, or the Rector Magnificus of Stockholm. His gross hypocrisy and boundless perfidy, demonstrated that he valued the sacred name, so frequently invoked, on account of the means afforded to make dupes of his subjects, and fix the stamp of sincerity on his spurious oaths. He was so indiscreet as to think that mankind would never cease to believe, as long as he wished to deceive; and he lived to experience the bitter fruits of his past deceptions to such a degree, that the more solemn were his asservations of sincerity, the less was the credit he obtained: and not a usurer would lend him a crown, unless he produced some of his courtiers, who were rich, to guarantee the payment. Although this gay and magnificent monarch was, in his heart, a mocker of religion, it was generally reported and believed in Stockholm, that he was extremely

superstitious, and carried his weakness so far as to visit an old woman, called Mademoiselle Arvedsen, who, about the year 1792, was in high repute as a fortune-teller! So great was the fame of the sibyl, and so eager the curiosity of the good people of Stockholm to obtain a glimpse of futurity, that her abode was crowded with visitors, to check whose numbers, the sagacious sibyl required a golden offering that none but rich fools could bring. This check not being sufficient to reduce the number within due bounds, she was obliged to issue tickets, on which it was specified what time the votary might appear, and how long continue in her awful presence! Another singularity which attended this lady was, that her power of prophecy was perfectly *local*. She was once sent for by the queen, Sophia Magdalena; to whom she replied, that the dream her Majesty had had the night before would certainly come true; but her power to foretel events, or interpret dreams, was confined to her own dwelling, as the celestial spirit by which she was inspired quitted her when she went abroad!—The queen was amazed and terrified at the message; never once reflecting that those who paid persons to bring them news, were sure to have their own secrets made public; and she actually went out incog. and after telling Mademoiselle Arvedsen all her secrets, she returned impressed with the most awful ideas of her

*supernatural* powers.* The fact was, that the cunning jade knew the queen was parsimonious, and she *foresaw* very plainly she should be kept twattling with her and her inquisitives all day, and not receive a fifth part of the fees that would be given to her at home. Besides, she calculated that the same weakness of intellect that led the queen to *send*, would impel her to come to her altar, and then she concluded, in one or two years she should acquire sufficient riches to live at her ease the remainder of her life. Her calculations being founded upon practical knowledge of human weakness and folly, they were fully verified; and her house was visited not alone by the queen, but all the principal ladies of her court: circumstances which Mademoiselle Arvedsen took care to circulate in whispers to all the wealthy wives, widows, and maidens in Stockholm; and to preserve herself from being devoured by eager votaries, she was compelled to raise her fee to a golden ducat! Thus riches and honors rolled in a full tide upon her humble dwelling; and she was enabled to render justice *deaf* as well as blind. The revenue thus poured in, was not all clear gain, for she had many secret agents by whom she was supplied with *family secrets*, which, when opportunities occurred, she dealt forth to the persons whom those secrets concerned; by which means her fame arose to a

* Frau— G—ll—g, one of the queen's bedchamber women, had just been and told the sibyl, that her majesty had dreamt, that the king was assassinated—and was greatly troubled at the dream.

height scarcely exceeded by any predecessor, whether ancient or modern. Gustavus was not long before he heard of her matchless prescience; and went *incognito* to her retreat. At the door stood the high priestess, who, in a slow and gentle cadence, bade him welcome as her king! for he had carelessly mentioned his intention to some of his young courtiers, from whom she derived, though by indirect means, the intelligence that had enabled her thus to receive him. The king remained some time closeted with the sibyl, and he repeated his visits, but, as he never disclosed his intention before he went, the old lady never had an opportunity of greeting the royal visitor as before. The author was assured by persons of sound judgment and strict veracity, that the king really did visit this woman; and they as gravely affirmed it was from her lips, not long before his death, he was forewarned against Count Ribbing. They were not so weak as to believe the king went to consult her as a prophetess, but merely to derive from her lips every material fact she might have gleaned from her numerous followers, explanatory of the designs of his enemies towards his person and government. He might also feel some anxiety to learn the sentiments regarding himself and the crown prince, entertained by the queen. Such was, in all probability, the *motive* that led this erratic prince to Mademoiselle Arvedson; but the public voice gave a very different version, and insisted that he went thither fraught with a

belief in her possessing supernatural powers. The author was informed, with the utmost gravity, by persons of rank and fortune, that Gustavus went to consult her previous to his journey to Gefle, to enquire if he should live to return? Which question she answered in the affirmative. And, that just after the king's return to Stockholm, his majesty went to her dwelling, in consequence of some very frightful dreams that had disturbed his rest. Madame Arvedsen then received him with a countenance overcast with sorrow, and told him she could not foresee distinctly, as her mental horizon was much clouded. She listened in gloomy silence to his narration of the horrid visions that had troubled him, and told him she feared some fatal accident was near at hand. "I believe so, myself," said Gustavus, "and that I shall die by the hand of some assassin; but tell me," he is reported to have said, "shall I live to fulfil the designs that now occupy my thoughts?" The sibyl mournfully shook her head, and told him, her powers were circumscribed. "Can you tell me who will be my murderer?" "*That*, I cannot foretell, Sire," said the prophetess, "but as your majesty returns to your apartment you will run against a man wrapped up in a cloak, carrying a drawn sword under his left arm: he will not molest you now, but at a future day become one of your destroyers. As the king returned, he took a circuitous route to the palace by way of Norrlands-gatan; and, as well as the darkness of the

night permitted, avoided every person whom he saw. He had reached the palace, and was smiling at his own credulity, when, ascending by a private stairs to an anti-room, of which he kept the key, he heard a step, and suddenly some one ran against him. The personal courage of the king was ever conspicuous; and seizing the unknown, he plainly felt a sword, covered by the cloak, and held under the left arm. "Who are you?" said the king fiercely. "Answer, or I'll call the guard!" holding the person so fast, he could not, if he had endeavoured, disengage his arms. "Don't your majesty know me," said the captive, on hearing the well-known voice of the king: "*I am Count Ribbing.*" "And what business have you here, with a drawn sword under your cloak, and in the dark, on my privy stairs?" "I come to meet a girl, Sire, belonging to these apartments, and I always carry my sword thus on such nocturnal adventures." The king took him into a room adjoining, on the Mezzonine story; where, looking Count Ribbing full in the face, he said, "My dear Ribbing! is it possible you came here with a view to murder me?"—The count appeared much hurt at his majesty's suspicions, and asking the king in a manner half sorrowfully, half reproachfully, what had put such thoughts into his mind, made a low bow, and withdrew.

The king is said to have paid one visit more to the witch of Norrmalm, and to have concealed what had occurred relative to Count Ribbing;

and that the manner of the sibyl was, if possible, more gloomy than before. The king said, he meant to take a long journey, and asked her if any thing fatal would befal him. "I cannot see so far forward, Sire," said the supposed witch, "but, between the 15th and the 18th of this month (March, 1792), Norrmalms Torget* will be covered by a black cloud."† Such were the marvellous stories relative to the visits paid to Mademoiselle Arvedson, the celebrated fortune-teller of Stockholm, which were related to the author; and nearly in the same terms, by different persons of respectability. If the reader should deem the tale too absurd to have obtained belief, let him refer, for parallel absurdities at home, to the well authenticated narratives of the *bottle conjuror, the Cock-lane ghost,* and more recently, the prophecies of *Johanna Southcote.*

* Since the erecting of the magnificent equestrian statue of Gustavus Adolphus the Great, Norrmalms Torget has been called Gustaf Adolf's Torget. Sir John Carr, Sir Robert Porter, &c. have so disfigured the names of places in Stockholm, in their respective works, that as local guides to a stranger, they are useless. Dr. Thomson, in his Travels in Sweden, has avoided this ridiculous affectation; but, by substituting o for A in the names of places, such as Åland, Åbo, &c. he has been guilty of an error no less mischievous.

† This story of the witch of Norrmalm, has been published by the Marquis de Bouillé, though differently; he was the intimate friend of the king, and the depository of his secrets; and he did not hesitate in his memoirs to assert that Count Ribbing was discovered by the king, from his majesty having gone to a woman named Arvedsen, who was celebrated as a fortune-teller.

## CHAP. IV.

*Character of Gustavus the Third, as a patron of the fine Arts.—Remarks on the erroneous account given of Sweden.—The plagiarisms of Acerbi detected; his ludicrous errors exposed.—Biographical sketch of Sergell, the great Swedish sculptor.—The principal errors of Sir John Carr's Northern Summer corrected.—Anecdote of Gustavus the Fourth.—Character of Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Sweden.—Illiberality and injustice of J. T. James, Esq's. criticism on the taste of Gustavus the Third, as to architecture.—The errors of Dr. Thomson's Travels in Sweden corrected.—Sergell's last great work described.—Anecdote of Sergell and Bernadotte, now Charles the Fourteenth John.—Catalogue of Sergell's principal works.—An anatomical error in the Venus de Medici discovered by Sergell.—Swedish Painters and Architects patronised by Gustavus the Third, Desprez, Piper, Tempelman, Roslin, Sir C. F. Von Breda, a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds.—Comparative state of painting and sculpture in Sweden and England.—Comparative state of engraving.—Anecdotes of Gustavus the Third.*

IF the maxim *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* had been adopted by ancient historians, the crimes of

the most execrable of tyrants had been concealed, the memory of their crimes had died with the criminals, the greatest stimulant to virtue had been annihilated, as well as the most formidable scourge of vice.

The varied and splendid accomplishments that distinguished Gustavus the Third beyond all contemporaneous monarchs, operated powerfully in his favor, even with him whose pen has so freely condemned his conduct as a sovereign and a gentleman; yet, would it not have been practising an unpardonable deception, if, being sensible that he had nearly ruined his kingdom by his want of wisdom, and tainted his character by the almost open exercise of odious propensities, the author had passed over those material features of his character, and shown the fair side only?

The life and reign of this monarch, as these pages have disclosed, abound with incidents by which they are deformed. If one could forget the deep hypocrisy by which he effected the overthrow of the oligarchs, and the certainty that he *intended* to establish monarchical despotism on its ruins, his memory might have been cherished by the friends of freedom; and if the unfeeling rapacity with which, even by the most ruinous of monopolies,* he accumulated wealth to bestow it upon the drama and the votaries of

* That of brandy; according to Mr. James, vol. i. p. , the distillers infused mineral, or other poison, in the noxious stuff sold to the populace.

the fine arts, could be justified, it would be from the consideration that he drew many a sublime genius from obscurity, that had otherwise faded away unnoticed and died unknown; whereby he adorned his court, adding the softened lustre of the fine arts to the imperishable glory conferred on Sweden by a race of kings and heroes whose fame reached the most distant quarters of the earth; but was too dearly purchased, not so much by the blood that was shed in its accumulation, as by the deep inroads made by victorious warrior-kings on the liberty of the Swedes.

As the author proceeds with brief biographical sketches of the principal sculptors and painters in Sweden, who were patronised by Gustavus the Third, with a view to afford his readers a kind of standard whereby to judge of the accuracy of the different authors who have treated of the northern nations, and particularly Sweden, he gives a rapid but correct survey of the principal errors that disfigure their respective works. The best account of the court of Sweden, under Gustavus the Third, is that* so often quoted in these vo-

* "*Characters and Anecdotes of the Court of Sweden.*"—It is amusing enough to read in many costly tours that have since been published relative to Sweden, under Gustavus the Third, the copious draughts made on this work, and palmed on the British public as being original. Messrs. Acerbi, Carr, and Porter have all borrowed from that source without acknowledging their obligation to the original author. As to Mr. Joseph Acerbi he pillaged without remorse, and spread, as if for sport,

lumes, and pillaged by others, whose volumes will be reviewed. Such matter can scarcely be deemed anomalous in a work that treats wholly of the northern courts; and he trusts there are many of his readers, who, wishing to acquire an accurate knowlege of a brave and eminent people,

the most cruel calumnies respecting the distinguished families under whose roofs he had been conducted by Colonel, now General Skjoldebrand, and most kindly and honourably treated. He pilfered more than a hundred pages from the above work. The first volume is made up of plagiarisms, of *original* falsehoods and sheer nonsense. Nor did Mr. Acerbi content himself with this sort of pillage, for he actually *purloined* some of the beautiful and spirited drawings made by Colonel Skjoldebrand, during their journey together, which he afterwards *sold* to Napoleon Bonaparte at a very high price; others he employed Mr. Bellanger of Stockholm to copy, which copies constitute those views that appear in his volumes. In vol. I. p. 121, 123, 124, this *candid* tourist ridicules the pretension of Messrs. Hjelm, Paykul, and Thunberg, whom he condemned as *fools, dunces*, and plagiarists! and these same men, vol. II. p. 137, 227, 229, 243, 259, 265, 267, 318, &c. &c. &c. he praises for the possession of the greatest science, wisdom, and taste, and tells his readers how kindly he was treated by them, and *admitted to take specimens from their cabinets* to enrich his work! In all probability Mr. Acerbi *took* them to *enrich* his *private* collection, made without toil or expense! A Baron de Geda had the misfortune to be blind; he was venerable from his age: the unfeeling scribbler mocks and makes game of this affecting instance of human infirmity; and, as these volumes are dedicated to his father, it seems as if he conceived *that father* could derive pleasure and *amusement* from such cruel slanders (vol. I. p. 125.)—A language master in Stockholm translated nearly one hundred pages from Tunelot's Geography;

will approve of this digression. Next to Whitelocke's journal, the best work extant is the Rev. Mr. Coxe's, the few errors to be found in which have been already noticed; a review of all the others, namely, Acerbi's, Sir John Carr's, Sir Robert Ker Porter's, and Mr. J. T. James's Journal, may be both useful and agreeable.

but not understanding the difference between a *tunn* Swedish and a *ton* English, he multiplied by *twenty* the weight of butter, dried salmon, and other provisions; and in some cases, one hundred fold. All his criticisms on the academies of Sweden, and the Swedish drama, are stolen from Restel, or other works. This *impartial critic*, in vol. I. p. 60, ridicules and condemns the voice, style, and execution of Madame Müller, and condemns her for presumption and folly in appearing on the stage; and in the following pages Mr. Acerbi describes Madame *Walters*, a Danish woman, as the sweetest and melodious of singers! He was ignorant that she that was once Madame Walters, and afterwards by marriage became Mrs. Müller! The malice he displays, and the ludicrous blunders made by Mr. Joseph Ascerbi in his account of the *Savans* of Sweden, have been most ably exposed by Colonel Skjoldebrand, whose rare fortune it was to use with equal credit the pen, the pencil, and the sword. The *learned and tasteful tourist*, vol. I. p. 11. speaks of a palace as a perfect ruin, that was in complete repair and splendidly furnished. And in another part he speaks of the great palace of Haga as being finished, the foundations of which were never carried above the level of the earth; and which had been totally abandoned since the death of Gustavus the Third. His sarcasms levelled at Mr. Malmgren, vol. I. p. 33, &c. are peculiarly malignant, and they were altogether undeserved. At Drottningholm, he mistook four pavilions for *twelve*; and described the graceful and elegant Gustavus the Third as *amusing* himself by the labours of a common blacksmith! The sagacious traveller

Returning to the Swedish artists, reared or patronised by Gustavus the Third, the author proceeds to remark, that this monarch never met with a single instance of deep ingratitude from any one who had been indebted to his munificence. They loved him living, and when laid

*shortens* the northern summer, already so very short, by stating, vol. I. p. 57, that the thaw commences in *June* and the *rain* set in, in September! The amusing anecdote, illustrative of the addiction of the Swedes to gaming, he *borrowed* from Mr. Ristel's anonymous work. His marvellous tales about the credulity of the Duke of Sodermanland (Charles the Thirteenth) were either inventions or gross exaggerations, His account of the first minister, Count SPARRE, vol. I. p. 91 and 92, is at once ludicrous and false. The modest Italian tells his English readers that the Count was so fully impressed with a belief, that like Elijah, he should be carried away to heaven *alive*, that he never went out in his carriage without taking a formal farewel of his family! But what must the legion of placemen and pensioners in this country think, whose illustrious names adorn and swell the pages of the Red Book, of his assertion, that "at the University of ABO the BODIES of state pensioners are *given up to the surgeons for* DISSECTION!!! vol. I. p. 206. Nor does the faithful narrator even say that they are permitted to live as long as they could! If he could have read Swedish, or had understood the tongue, he would have found that in one of the hospitals existed an order by which the bodies of those who died of certain incurable and disreputable diseases, should be dissected by the surgeons for the benefit of the living. Such are a few of the leading *merits* of Mr. Acerbi, who *modestly* assured his readers in his preface, that "*another motive* for *publishing this work was a desire of being useful to future* TRAVELLERS!!!"

Sir John Carr's NORTHERN SUMMER followed the *valuable* volumes just quitted; and most woefully would the traveller

low by an assassin's hand, he could no longer confer honors nor riches, his memory has been cherished, and his character defended, with a zeal that did honour to the goodness of their hearts. The author, in 1808, had many opportunities of witnessing these truths. Those veteran artists,

be deceived, if he hoped to derive more useful information from these pages, than those preceding his labours. It is, however, just to state that Sir John Carr's publication is free from the dark and wanton malignancy so prevalent in the pages of Acerbi. Sir John's errors, were seated in his *head*. Passing by the numerous mistakes which abound in his account of men and things that occurred on his journey between Harwich and Helsingborg in Sweden; he tells his readers, p. 104, that, for the sake of procuring *better horses* on their journey to Stockholm, they (Sir John and a friend) passed themselves off as state messengers; and after they had reached the metropolis, he states, "*our impatience* cost our pride nothing less than figuring away a *few days after* in the Stockholm Gazette as a couple of couriers *just arrived*." By this it appears that the *observant* travellers thought only of expedition; and the man of the law was happily ignorant of the risk he ran of being detected, and punished as an impostor; for, on the main roads, and this was one, a certain number of *reserve horses* are held at each station for the use of state messengers: and by the sixteenth clause in the Royal Ordinance of the 12th December, 1734, it is enacted that any traveller who shows a false pass, or by any pretext obtains *fri skjuts*, or obtains the '*krone skjuts*' *i. e.* horses. reserved for the crown, shall be fined one hundred dollars silver-mint; be arrested, and held to bail, or committed to prison to abide the further punishment awarded to this offence, namely, a public flogging and imprisonment. In which predicament Sir John Carr then stood. If he were ignorant of this law, *good morals* forbade the deception. And as

Professors Piper and Tempelman, spoke of their deceased patron with reverence and affection, at a time when almost every tongue reviled him; whilst many a courtier whom Gustavus the Third had ennobled and enriched, could recollect nothing of their benefactor except his follies and

to his '*pride*' being hurt by its result, perhaps he might have found amongst the British messengers, *some* who would have felt hurt likewise, although from a *very different* cause! The account given, p. 19, of the value of the Swedish coins is inaccurate in almost every denomination of current coin or paper. '*A conspiracy*', p. 24, formed against this traveller, at a *very clean inn*, is thus defined. "The dashing of a fountain, the crowing of a Bantam cock, two cats *making love*, and a party of *foraging fleas* united *their powers* to keep me from *sleep*!" His *engagement* with a Forbud, described p. 106, shewed his complete ignorance of the regular, cheap, and secure way of procuring horses at every post at any time; and his lamentations at the loss of a bit of roasted mutton, gnawed by '*some vile dog*,' and reduced to '*an indented* wreck,' shew more anger than discretion. Sir John's account of his '*expeditious travelling*' is either false or true: Messrs. Schawe, Johnson, Hunter, and other messengers totally discredited his assertions, where he states that he "accomplished *several stages* at the rate of *thirteen* or *fourteen* miles per hour!" Not one of those messengers ever travelled so rapidly in Sweden; and the author of these volumes, never heard of any person who had. The probability, therefore is, that in this part Sir John indulged in the *traveller's privilege*: but if it could be believed, the fact would indicate the most cold and deliberate cruelty, for, encumbered as he was with a waggon and *five* persons, the excessive exertion must *inevitably* have broken the hearts of the generous little animals, which he describes as reminding him of "CINDERELLA'S MICE."

His orthography is as defective as his veracity and humanity

his crimes. Gustavus the Third and Fourth lavished upon that worthless minion, Baron Armfelt, more treasure than upon all the sculptors and painters of Sweden; and that worthless courtier was highly instrumental in leading to the death of the former, and the dethronement of the latter.

are questionable. The post-house or station called Astrop, should be *Åstorp;* Lynngby—*Ö-Ljungby;* Orke-Ginga, *Örkeljunga.*

"We dined at Johnkopping, or, as the Swedes call it Johnchippig," p. 112. The place meant by our tourist was the city of Jönköping, and the Swedes pronounce its name, not John-chip-pig, but Yen-tsheping, p. 112. "There, and every where else, in Sweden, we found that the bread and cheese had in *them* an immense number of carraway seeds, by which they were not improved," idem. These assertions *may* be quite original, but they are positively founded on the most complete ignorance and misconception. The lake that he calls THE WELLER, is *the Wettern.*—Nordkoping, p. 113, should be spelt *Norrköping.* When he arrived at Fitja, and just as Sir John was composing some lines in praise of the honesty of '*his forbud*' he discovered that he had been robbed, and thus the world lost those beautiful lines which the enraged and disappointed poet had produced. This act of dishonesty, in technical terms, he calls '*felonious treachery,*' p. 119. So much for the example set by Sir John Carr, as a guide to *future travellers!*

Having thus reached the metropolis of Sweden; Sir John, p. 119, asserts, "after breakfast we ascended *Mount Moses.*" There is no such *mountain* in Sweden; the place he meant is an eminence on Sodermalm, called Möse Bäcka, where he saw "the lake Mælar and the *streams* that flow *from* it." A hundred tributary streams pour their waters into this vast lake, which has only a single outlet.

Treating of the colossal statue in bronze, erected in honor of Gustavus the Third, he says, "the pedestal of one *solid* block of porphyry is already raised," &c. Here again our traveller was

and as if to crown the triumph of treason, the traitor was appointed by the Emperor Alexander, governor of the province of Swedish Finland after its conquest in 1809.

The greatest name amongst those artists patronised by Gustavus the Third, a name that

deceived; the pedestal is formed of *many* pieces, but so highly polished and exquisitely joined, it is difficult to perceive that the whole is not what Sir John described. His account of the *Merclants' Club*, p. 125, is radically erroneous.

What Sir John Carr meant by the "pretty little *cozing or chit-chat* rooms," p, 127, in the Great Palace, is not in the writer's power to explain.

In the king's library Sir John saw two enormous latin MSS. "the *vellum* leaves of which he possitively asserts are made of "*asses skin.*" Is there no difference between the skin of a *calf* and that of an *ass?*

"The king" (Gustavus the Fourth) "is said to regard the memory of his father with *enthusiastic adoration.* I contemplated a powerful proof of it *in* an obelisk of one SOLID BLOCK OF PORPHYRY FORTY FEET HIGH, which is at once a monument of his taste and *piety.*" p. 130.

Sir John has made nearly as many blunders as he used words in this sentence.

In the first place the obelisk is *not* composed of ONE SOLID BLOCK, but of *many* blocks; and the *joints* might be seen a couple of hundred yards distant without the aid of glasses.

It is NOT built of *porphyry* but simply of grey *granite.*

It is certainly *much more* than *forty feet* high: but perhaps Sir John wisely recollected that if he had stated its true elevation, the assertion that it is composed of a *single block of porphyry* would have appeared too bare-faced.

This obelisk, which is one of the finest in the world, was erected by order of Gustavus the Fourth, to the memory of Gustavus the Third. The former, standing at its base, once addressed the

reflects more honor upon Gustavus the Third, than all his *victories*, is JOHAN TOBIAS SERGELL. The exquisite taste and matchless ability of this great northern sculptor, justifies the assertion that he was equal to any modern artist; and excelled in giving character and *sentiment** to his

burgers of Stockholm; when some impudent plebeian cried out '*There's the rogue! the iron chain and ring are wanting!*'—alluding to the mode in which swindlers are exposed.

Treating of Gustaf Adolf's Torget, Sir John Carr calls in '*La Place du Nord*,'—an affectation of gallicising proper and local names, that is as ridiculous in a traveller as it is mischievous. No stranger could find his way in Stockholm by the aid of such a guide.

"Upon our rising" (after dinner) "at the same time," (with the hostess) "we stood *solemnly gazing upon each other for about half a minute*, we then exchanged *profound* bows and curtsies." p. 138. Sir John might *gaze* at the company, but not the company at him; for this is the silent and solemn manner in which grace is said in Sweden. A circumstance of which it was singular so *inquisitive* a traveller should have been ignorant.

Dalcarlia and Dalcarlians, p. 140, &c. Every fact and circumstance

* "Amongst the Swedish sculptors, the name of Sergell *(il Michel Ange du Nord)* has long been *justly* celebrated: his workshop abounds with models of *beauty* and *grace*, executed with a *spirit* of taste and fidelity that deserves the highest encomium. The Cupid and Psyche, Mars and Venus, are to be ranked amongst the most elegant examples of the *beau ideal*, but this is a lofty walk of art, and I must confess they appeared to me *to lack something of the promethean fire*." James's Journal, vol. I. p. 214.

The commencement of this precious morsel of *profound criticism* is tolerable civil, but, short as it is, before Mr. James arrived at the end, he seems to have regretted the praise he had bestowed at the beginning! There is clearly a '*lack something*' of generous feeling in cold blooded hypercritics.

figures, in which great quality he exceeded any thing CANOVA has since executed; whilst in design and execution Sergell has not been excelled by this celebrated Italian artist.

The author, whilst in Sweden, always understood, that Sergell was the son of a *Swedish farmer:*

stated, connected with these subjects, are founded in error or misconception; and some of them perfectly ludicrous from their absurdity. His account of a Dalcarl hut, p. 142, is copied almost literally from Radcliffe's translation, p. 190, already named.

He states that Drottningholm is ten miles from Stockholm; it is not quite *seven.*

His account of Queen Christina, p. 144, is contrary to history; and written in a malignant spirit. If he had read Whitelock's Journal of his Swedish Embassy, he would have found a very different character of that queen.

Speaking of the arsenal at Stockholm, Sir John Carr sagaciously observed, "I was particularly struck by the clothes of Charles the Twelfth, which he wore when he was killed, and *very proudly put them on.*" What a falling off was there! Without being maliciously inclined, such folly is enough to remind the reader of the story of the ass dressed in the lion's skin.

He tells his reader that the "*breeches were so greasy they may be fried;*" and that the king never used any comb, "*but his fingers,*" and used to spread butter on his bread with his thumb instead of a knife, p. 146. His account of "*the Swedish ladies*" is both ridiculous and inaccurate. His assertion that Gustavus the Third secretly consulted with his friends "*in the recesses of the rocks*" at Haga, p. 153, is totally groundless. Equally inaccurate is his description of Swedish carriages, p. 159. His account of Danmora Mine, *errors and all,* p. 161, he borrowed from Radcliffe's translation, p. 108. His account of *a culprit* is as ludicrous, as any blunder he had previously committed, as also is his description of *Smedjegaard,* the Newgate of Stockholm, p. 176.

he has recently been informed, through the medium of a British Royal Academician, that the father of Sergell was a German. Be that as it may, to the taste and munificence of Gustavus the Third, he was indebted for the means of displaying his astonishing abilities, and of course, for

Sir John's praise of '*Swedish washerwomen*,' p. 179, is very ill deserved; as taken on an average, there are no worse in all Europe. Sir Robert Ker Porter, by way of a silent rebuke, gave in his travels, a plate representing persons whom *he* believed to have been washerwomen. He was, however, essentially deceived; for Sir John meant *laundresses;* and the persons represented in Sir Robert Porter's volume, were mere drudges, washing household linen almost as coarse as hop-sacking.

His tale of '*the indecorum of a little dog*,' p. 181, is most certainly, of all Sir John Carr's errors, the most ludicrous. It is really astonishing he was so weak as to insert such contemptible nonsense.

"*Swedish Cleanliness.*" p. 186.—"One morning I was looking *over the deck* from the *stern*, I beheld an operation somewhat *ridiculous;* but as it originated in *rude* notion of cleanliness, and moreover is one of the *domestic* customs of the country, I shall relate it. Our skipper was lying at the feet of a *good-natured brawney* girl, who *was* a passenger; his head *was* on her lap, just as *Goliah* some time since rested *his in* that of Delilah; but the fingers of our *fair* companion were more kindly employed than *were* those of the *woman* of the *valley* of *Sorek!* the skipper had *no* comb, perhaps *never heard* of such a *thing*, and this *kind-hearted* creature was *sedulously* consigning with a *humane*, because an *instantaneous destruction of sensation* in every *vital* part by an *equal* and *forcible* pressure, every restless disturber of his peace in that *region*, which most assuredly must be, though doctors may dispute *the point*, *the seat of reason;* the cabin-boy succeeded his master, and in return, with *the keen eye* and *nimble finger of a monkey*, gratefully repaid the obligation upon the head of his bene-

the fame and wealth that he acquired. He was placed with Mons. L'Archeveque, a French artist of distinguished talents and well deserved celebrity. At the king's expense, he was afterwards sent to study at Rome; where he was soon distinguished by his talents and industry.

factress. In *Italy*, these engaging *little offices of kindness* constitute the *principal delights of courtship.*"

This is the last quotation from Sir John Carr's Northern Summer, and certainly the most disreputable to its author. Lady Geyer of Roerstrand, once asked Mr. Brown what possible motive Sir John Carr could have for inserting such disgusting trash in his tour. To this question no satisfactory answer being given, her ladyship said, "I fear, you English, are an ill-natured nation who delight in slander. Were it otherwise, your authors dared not load their pages with such offensive matter." It is very likely Sir John only intended to be witty, but failing in that object, he became disgusting. The better sort of people in Sweden are as clean as the the same class in England: and as to his assertion, that the filthy scenes he obtruded on the public eye, forming the principal *delights* of Italian courtship, it shews a degreee of folly that favors of mental imbecility. With these remarks, Sir John Carr and the Northern Summer are dismissed.

The next work that appeared, was Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Sweden and Russia, in whose praise for industry, accuracy, or candour there is little to be said. With talents of a higher order than Sir John Carr possessed, he fell into errors no less gross. His criticisms on Swedish painters and sculptors will long remain a monument of his want of liberality and justice. His panegyrics on the weak and unfortunate king (Gustavus the Fourth) who was almost universally despised by his subjects, shewed a *servility* of mind and manners no less disreputable than the insolence and contempt with which he spoke of artists, some of whom possessed talents and taste commensurate, if not far superior, to his own.

A British sculptor, the late Thomas Banks, R. A. an artist who was the equal of Sergell in all but his good fortune, was then studying at Rome: between these great and splendid geniuses a friendship was contracted that did not end with their residence in Italy.

The next quarto to be reviewed is Doctor Thomas Thomson's Travels, &c. A work that with greater propriety might have been called 'A Mineralogical Survey of Sweden,' viewed in which light it is an highly entertaining and most valuable work.

This author, p. 5, speaking of the rocks near Wingo Sund, states that not a single *plant*, nor even a *lichen* or moss is to be found upon them. In this he was utterly mistaken: the writer of these remarks has traversed those very rocks, seen several kinds of lichen, and between the ridges a tolerable sprinkling of plants, and he plucked ripe *raspberries* and *gooseberries* of excellent flavour, that grew and ripened there.

P. 14, Mr. Thomson mentions having drank tea with some family where they gave him only *hot water*, *sugar*, and *cream*; and thence he concludes that *all* the Swedish ladies make poor tea! This was just as sagacious as Voltaire's traveller, who, on his first entrance into some kingdom, seeing a red haired landlord, wrote in his journal, "*the people are all red haired.*"

Such puerile remarks are disgraceful to any traveller, above all, to a man of Dr. Thomson's science.

His remarks about London porter; his assertion that the *Swedes* always use it, are totally erroneous; the *Swedes* seldom or never use any. p. 16, 17.

The learned doctor's statement as to the wretched state of agriculture so near to the second or third city in Sweden, and where provisions were so enormously dear, are probably inaccurate. The immediate vicinity of Gothenborg, on the shores of the Gotha Älf, present some very interesting objects of study, and particularly the *inscription* carved on the bare rock near *Kongsgrafwen* i. e.

Whilst Sergell resided there, he executed some of his greatest works, the Cupid and Psyche so well known to northern travellers, and which the king, for whom it was executed, allowed to remain in possession of the artist during life: a Diomede carrying away the Pal-

King Hjelmar's grave, discovered by the great Sir Charles Linné on the 11th July 1746, which lines have never yet been translated.

Sir Charles Linné, thus expresses himself relative to those curious relics of ancient times. "*Runic Stones* here were not any; but the country people said, that eastward from the tomb was a mountain on which something was engraved in unknown characters. We went thither, and we found three lines inscribed, which extended about *two hundred feet:* the letters stood within the lines over and under, which ran longitudinally along the smooth shelving rock. Each letter was twelve or eighteen inches long, and generally one or two characters over each line, though most of them were almost straight, either perpendicular or leaning to the right or left. I am certain this runic stone has not been read for *a hundred years*, as in many places the turf lay above the inscription two or three inches deep." The author of the Northern Courts visited this spot on the 26th August 1806. After much labor and fatigue, he found the inscription alluded to.—Some of these characters resembled AγHηλιTτχω. of the Greek, and אוקץ of the Hebrew. There were many other inscriptions round this spot, all equally unintelligible to him. These objects are certainly worth more attention than they have experienced. When Mr. B. enquired of the merchants of Gothenborg respecting these inscriptions, no one could give him the least information. Even the rustics, who lived near, had forgotten, or never had known them; at last, by the aid of a very old woman he discovered the place. The turf was again accumulated an inch thick upon the rock; which, perhaps had been growing ever since

ladium; also wrought in Carrara marble, about four feet in height, for Mr. TALBOT, of Wales: a faun reposing, for a French ambassador at Malta. When he left Rome he went to Paris, where the known taste of the Swedish king, his warm patronage of M. Sergell, and the exquisite works

Sir Charles Linné's visit in 1746. If Mr. Thomson had been informed of these objects, particularly the salt springs, and the blocks of stone, strewed along the shores, he would no doubt have paid them due attention.

The learned doctor's observations on agriculture, are radically erroneous. His assertion that "the *carts* in Sweden are all four wheeled," p. 26, is laughable: their carts have only *two* wheels, as with us. "There are no blankets to be seen in Sweden!!!" p. 28. This, if possible, is worse than his assertion respecting '*four wheeled carts.*' "The Swedes have ALL light flaxen hair and a ruddy countenance. I would say, they have a certain degree of *flabbiness* visible in their *complexion*," p. 29. His remarks about the post-boys arose from his total ignorance of their language, and of the posting law.—"The peasants in Sweden are *all* clean and well dressed in *coarse* BLUE *cloth*!!!" He describes the Dalkarlians, p. 201, as being *all* dressed in "*whitish cloths*," and in the very same province they certainly dress in *black!* So much for the accuracy of his assertion that *all* the rustics dress in BLUE cloth. As if he were running a race, and committing blunders against time; in p. 30, he says "the peasants have ALL round hats, and wear *silk* handerchiefs round their necks." There is not one Swedish labourer in ten thousand that ever had a *silk handkerchief* of his own in the whole course of his life!

His remarks, p. 30, that the country wheelwrights and carpenters *always* take advantage of strangers, are unjust: there there are knaves as well as fools to be found in most countries, but the peasantry of Sweden, taken as a whole, are proverbially

he had executed at Rome, procured him a reception highly flattering. Whilst Sergell was in Paris, he modelled, and finished, one of the most perfect pieces of sculpture that, according to Abbé Winkelman, ever was produced by any artist, ancient or modern. It was the Otriades

honest. Doctor Thomson, like Sir John Carr, Porter, &c. has metamorphosed proper names, and made the orthography of Åby conform to its pronunciation *Oby*, spelling Åland, *Oland*, &c. His description of the water-falls of Trollhätte is very much indeed below the grandeur and vastness of the object, p. 38. He calls *Lidköping*, a *small* town, which (for Sweden) is a considerable inland city, containing several large and handsome edifices.

Mr. Thomson mentions a work, at Hönsätter belonging to Hof Junkeren Bengt Van Hoffsten, to whom the writer of these remarks had a very kind introductory letter from Chevalier Geyer of Roerstrand, his brother-in-law. They were an hospitable family. The seat and grounds are reckoned among the rural beauties of Sweden. It is singular, Doctor Thomson, indeed, passed them by unnoticed. These views are so very grand it is next to impossible, when seen, they could be forgotten.

Chapter III. is very scientific, and wholly dedicated to mineralogical subjects. P. 45, the doctor asserts that *Hunneberg* was *inaccessible!* There are many families dwelling on the top, and there must be *roads*, of course, by which they go up and down. He is silent as to the beautiful cascades and scenery formed by the Gothe Älf in front of Sir C. Bagge's seat. And though he gave such *copious* information as to agriculture, and was so very near the seats of Barons Silfwerskjöld and Von Plaaten, two of the first agriculturists in Sweden, he has not named them nor their improvements.

"The greatest part of *Nerike* is covered by forests of pines and birch," p. 64. A gross misrepresentation. This pic-

(mentioned by Mr. Coxe)* in the agonies of death, his face expressing a love of glory subduing pain, and inscribing on his shield Δὶι Τροπαίῳ, "*To victory!*" This beautiful piece was about eighteen inches long.

From France, M. Sergell passed over to Eng-

turesque province abounds in *lakes*, and mines; there is also a great deal of well cultivated land, as he admits in another place. Tobacco is not used as generally as Doctor Thomson asserts in p. 65, nor is it cultivated to any *considerable extent* in Sweden.

His observations relative to the demand of his passport by the sentinels at Örebro, p. 66, shows how little he had been accustomed to passing through fortified towns in time of war. The comment, p. 67, on the search made by Custom-house officers, are marked by the same stamp. If Mr. T. had known that the *local duties* are *farmed* in every city, he would not have made them. Speaking of Örebro, he asserts, "The houses are ALL *of wood.*" If he had walked through this city in day time, (that will probably become the future capital of Sweden), his eyes must have convinced him to the contrary. The comments in p. 74, relative to Swedish posting, displays his want of more correct information on the subject on which he wrote. He reproaches the peasants for having obtained '*a monopoly*' of supplying post horses! whereas it is notoriously a source of the greatest oppression under which agriculture labors, and is often *ruinous* to the poor farmers, who *are compelled*, work

* The same author mentions another work in which Sergell was engaged, namely, a statue of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus crowning with laurels the bust of Gustavus Adolphus the Great. Vol. iv. p. 69. Mr. Brown has no recollection of seeing any such statue either in the palace, or in the work-room of the artist.

land, and resided some time in London, associating with our most celebrated artists, who, to borrow Sir Horace Walpole's words, "were in flower" about 1780. Hence he returned to Sweden, where he was ennobled by Gustavus the Third, having delighted his munificent king by the bril-

or no work, to send their horses to a certain station at a certain time. As to the law that '*smacks*,' of the same influence, i. e. limiting the rate of driving to *five* miles English per hour; it is probably not correct. In 1808, they were compelled to go a mile Swedish within the hour, which is nearly seven miles English.

Mr. Thomson, p. 83, mentions an estate belonging to Mr. Dundas, a scotch gentleman, 'who purchased it ten years since.' He alluded to Ekholmsund, a place well worthy a traveller's notice; an account of which is inserted in a note to page 346, vol. i. Northern Courts.

In p. 84, our traveller asserts, that *so great was the fertility of some land near Tibble*, he counted a single ear that contained sixty-four grains of barley; and another with eighty! and that the crop was the finest he had ever seen! In p. 428, the learned doctor gravely asserts, that the *average* crops of Sweden yield only *one-fifth* of an English bushel from an acre and a quarter; and this, he says, "is the *miserable pittance* of each individual, per annum!!!" It is really astonishing how he could allow such very absurd statements to escape his pen; or risk the consequences of attempting to instruct the Swedish nation how to increase the general average of their crops *thirty-fold!* In this page of monstrous blunders, the learned doctor affirms that every farm has about *one thousand* acres of forest, by way of common. It is beyond the author's power to explain by what means Doctor Thomson has been so completely bewildered and misled. In the table, p. 426, he states that the *tunnaland* Swedish is about an acre and a quarter English; the *tunna* of corn he states to be no more than *one-tenth* part of an English bushel!

liancy of his genius, and the matchless excellencies of his works.

The author has been informed, that when Sergell was in England, he was afflicted by that nervous melancholy, which afterwards acquired so powerful an influence as to render his life

whereas it is equal to about thirty-four gallons beer measure. By this enormous error he has diminished the produce of corn in the proportion of about *forty-nine* out of every *fifty*.

So far from this miserable pittance being all that falls to the share of an individual, the following statement will prove that a farmer's servant has upwards of *two quarters* of corn, besides meat and vegetables, allowed for his subsistence.

The allowance of *städt drangarne*, or victualled servants, in Sweden, is each

| *Per Annum.* | *Daily allowance.* |
|---|---|
| One tunna of rye | One pint of new milk, |
| Two ditto of barley. | At *least* a quart of sour milk, or butter milk, with cabbage, turnips, carrots, &c. according to circumstances. |
| Three-fourths ditto barley and oats mixed, for malt. | They are not allowed any candle except at Christmas, the fire serving them instead. |
| Quarter of a tunn, or a bushel, of pease. | At Christmas, each is allowed |
| Three pounds of hops. | Two kappers, or a peck, of rye, |
| Two ditto of wool. | Three ditto, or nearly half a bushel of malt, |
| One tunna of potatoes. | One pint of brandy, |
| Sixty pounds (English) of dried beef. | Three pounds of beef and bacon, |
| Twenty pounds of bacon. | Half of a salt-ling, |
| Quarter of a tunn (250) of herrings. | A middle size candle. |
| One-eighth ditto of salt, about nine gallons. | |

These facts, which Mr Brown derived from Mr. George Stephens (or Stevens), an agriculturist employed by the Society

miserable, society irksome, and drove him from his studies long before his mental or physical functions were otherwise impaired.

On his return to Stockholm, Sergell was received with great distinction by the king: honors and riches flowed fast upon him; and his desire

of Örebro, proves that every farmer's servant-man has more corn food than Doctor Thomson allowed to upwards of a hundred, by his erroneous statement.

The wages vary from twelve to twenty rix dollars; *i. e.* from one pound sixteen shillings to three pounds sterling per annum, besides two rix dollars earnest; and they are allowed four pair of shoes, worth three shillings per pair; and, in case of very good behaviour, also a pair of boots. All the farmers and labourers pay a poll tax, amounting to nearly six shillings English: this is called *Mantal.* His wages, clothes, and food, in ordinary times, were computed at one hundred rix dollars, or fifteen pounds, expense to his employer. The *stâtt drangarne, i. e.* victualled servants, live in an out-house, where they have bed rooms, kitchen, &c. to themselves: and a female drudge to wait upon them, who is called drangarnes pigan, *i. e.* the servants' maid. When any traveller pleases to communicate the result of his researches in foreign countries, he should be very cautious that he is not misled, or adopts erroneous opinions. Sweden being the most interesting theatre for the naturalist, or mineralogist, in all Europe, Doctor Thomson naturally thought he should be able to assist and direct the future researches of those classes of travellers, and more particularly the lovers of mineralogy. This task he appears to have performed in a style far surpassing every other English tourist; and it is much to be regretted, he meddled with Swedish agriculture. There is a large fund of science displayed in this volume; and much good sense and liberal sentiment. Relative to the fine arts, he says little; but that little is modestly expressed, and indicates a better taste than most

to increase his fame, and please his royal patron, led him to attend with close application to his profession; and he produced those exquisitely sculptured busts of the king, queen, and royal family, that are to be seen in the great palace at Stockholm; and if Charles the Fourteenth, John

of his predecessors possessed. The endeavours of the learned traveller to exalt the grandeur of the scenery around his favorite city (Edinburgh), seems to have led him to detract a little from the matchless beauty that distinguishes the locality of Stockholm, perhaps beyond any other city in the world. Edinburgh is unquestionably nobly adorned by romantic and picturesque views; but a single glance at the view given by Mr. James, vol. i. p. 193, though too small and too distant to convey an adequate idea of its beauty and grandeur, will satisfy any reasonable person of its superiority over Edinburgh. This marked partiality is pardonable, if not commendable; and his pages are free from that black malignancy that disgrace Acerbi's volumes; from the frivolity that runs through Sir John Carr's; the mixture of pride and caprice so conspicuous in Sir Robert Ker Porter's, and the unbecoming, ungracious *hauteur* too visible in the otherwise valuable Journal of a Tour in Sweden, &c. by J. T. James, Esq.

The Mr. Swedenstjerna mentioned by Mr. Thomson, p. 106, was sent to England in 1805 or 6, at the expense of the Swedish mine owners, to observe and report the state of our iron and steel works.

Part of the observations on the Swedish, Danish, and German languages, p. 107, 8, 9, bear evident marks that the learned writer was rather out of his element, and did not perfectly understand the subject.

It is astonishing Mr. Thomson should affirm there are no taverns in Stockholm! There are *several* that come completely within the denomination, and more than a hundred houses

possesses a sound judgment, he will never cause them to be put away, and hidden, lest they should remind the spectators of the Gustavian dynasty.

When Gustavus visited Italy, he was accompanied by Sergell, whom he consulted relative to

where ordinaries are held, and wine and liquors sold. Vide p. 112.

With these remarks, which do not detract from the distinguished merit of the work considered as a mineralogical survey of Sweden, the author closes his exposition of the leading errors of Doctor Thomson's 'TRAVELS in SWEDEN,' and their source.

The last work to be reviewed is the Journal of a Tour in Sweden, by J. T. James, Esq.

The mistakes contained in this work are certainly less numerous than in the preceding; but the excellencies are also of less importance. Mr. James seems to have made up his mind to see nothing to admire in Sweden, except the water falls and landscape views: by which disposition, he diminished his means of self-cultivation, and injured his work. Except the Swedish artists have deteriorated very greatly since 1808, his character of the painters, vol. I. p. 209, must be very unjust, for he denies by implication, the gift of original genius to the whole body, allowing them only the humbler merit of *imitation*. And, unless the disposition of the gentlemen of Sweden has also changed, and very greatly too, for the worse; his description of their manners is both illiberal and unjust. Vol. I. p. 242, he thus expresses himself, "Rigidly ceremonious, they make their stiff and measured courtesies the *essentials* rather than the forms of life, and seem in a stranger's eye, a people *cold in their nature as the very snows they dwell upon*. Their characteristics, a passive courage not unmixed with indolence; a pride not free from ignorance; a

the marbles mentioned in p. 29. The king was much addicted to the study of architecture: his taste and science, if not of the very first order, were far beyond the description given by J. T. James, Esq. in his Journal, as will be shewn in the slight review given of a part of that work.

disposition that is not ill humoured, from having no humour at all, from indifference—from apathy." These expressions bear internal marks of the very characteristics Mr. James imputes to the Swedes! If he found the Swedish gentleman as cold as the snow on which he dwells,—which is an unwarrantable assertion, might it not have originated in the supercilious mien, sarcastic words, or sullen and contemptuous glance—of the narrator? With all the errors that disfigure Doctor Thomson's work, there are many just and wise remarks, amongst which might, with great propriety be classed the following, viz. "It is owing to things of this kind, of no apparent consequence in themselves, but of very great consequence on account of the impression which they make, that Great Britain is so unpopular with most nations on the continent; and that the French, with all their injustice and tyranny, are upon the whole *more acceptable*. There is something in human nature which leads men to resent *insolence* much more than injustice. There is hardly any person who would not rather forgive a man who had robbed him of his money, than one who has treated him as a fool. In most Englishmen who travel" (Mr. JAMES affords a striking instance of the justice of this remark), "as far as I have had an opportunity of observing them, there is an unaccountable wish to let foreigners, with whom they associate, know that they despise them. The thing which surprised me most upon such occasions was, that the people amongst whom they were *bore with them so long*." The author of the Northern Courts has trod the same ground as Mr. James and associated with persons of as great rank and consequence: but, during ten months residence in Sweden, and daily inter-

The melancholy that had long been increasing in power, received a great accession of power when his royal patron was assassinated; but it did not induce him to retire altogether from his labours. He modelled, and had cast in gyps, two colossal figures, to adorn the funeral honors paid

course with persons eminent for rank, taste, science, and abilities, he never saw any instance of such bad taste, or any thing that gave rise to opinions like those broached by Mr. James; who certainly possesses considerable talent, but whose judgment appears to have been warped by too overweaning an opinion of his own importance. If a traveller wishes to be respected, he should prove himself deserving that homage by rendering it where it is due. The insolence and contempt that appears so conspicuously in the carriage of so many British travellers; their sullen reserve, their demi-barbarous hauteur, have entailed more odium on this country than all its crimes political or commercial. It greatly tended to unite the continent against us under Napoleon; and the same vile and dishonourable conduct in individuals is at this moment rapidly operating to the same end. The Mr. Swedenstjerna mentioned by Doctor Thomson, p. 106, visited Great Britain, and after a considerable stay, upon his return to Sweden he published his tour. That gentleman was certainly Mr. James's equal as to birth, situation, abilities, and attainments. If he had been inclined to have indulged in a sarcastic querulous tone, and to have expressed himself pleased with only very few persons or things, he was at least as competent to the task as Mr. James; instead of which, he seemed to have viewed this country as a philosopher, and spoke of it in dignified and respectful terms.

Mr. James takes but little notice of the living poets of Sweden, or the works of the dead. He mentions Chevalier Edlercrantz, K. P. S. who was ennobled in 1808, as *Mister* Edlercrantz (vide p. 215, and note). He met there the chief literary

to his beloved Gustavus; the one a female, emblematical of Sweden; the other a lion, the emblem of Gothland. That which represented the genius of Sweden, of all the majestic female figures the author ever beheld, was the finest. The attitude was touchingly mournful: the beautiful

characters in Stockholm. Was it here he found the *rigid* unbending *stiffness* of which he complained? In Chevalier Edlercrantz he saw a gentleman, whose elegance of manners, and high endowments, should have checked this propensity to censure. This noble Swede is celebrated as a first-rate poet, which quality it was that procured him the patronage of Gustavus the Third. Yet Mr. James is altogether silent on that interesting

* When Mr. Brown was in Stockholm he had the honour of being introduced to this nobleman, from whom he received the following note, viz.—

" My dear Sir, " 16th April, 1808.

" I have read with great interest, though not a perfect conviction, Mr. Cobbett's arguments, tending to prove war in general to be not only necessary, but even conducive, to the general happiness of mankind, and consequently a real good, though not unmixed with evil. The same reasoning could be applied to *death;* and as it is permitted us to delay this last happy incident so long as we possibly can; so nations may, I hope, be excused in avoiding or delaying the former. I am much obliged to you, Sir, for their communication, and shall be still more so if you should grant me the continuation of them.

I remain, with great esteem,

My dear Sir,

Your obedient humble servant,

A. M. EDLERCRANTZ."

" *J. Brown, Esq.* 98, *Pals Gaatn.*"

This is copied from the English in which it was written. Is there any rigid formality visible in this? Are there no traits of humour in his criticisms on Mr. Cobbett's Register? The writer ranked high as a votary of the *belles lettres.*

features showed no less fortitude than sorrow. The lion was stretched couchant at the feet of the female, its head placed straight between its extended paws; and the artist had contrived to throw into the attitude and features of the sovereign of the forest, a strong natural appearance of

topic. He has thrown a great deal of dry matter into his work, that fills a space which might have been occupied more to the advantage of his reader.

Mr. James asserts, p. 233, "The first paper note of Sweden was stamped in 1717, in the reign of Charles the Twelfth." In all this he is wrong: there were abundance of paper notes in circulation long before that period.

In the cabinet of national and natural curiosities at Drottningholm, chiefly collected by Queen Louisa Ulrica, there was deposited *one* of the first Bank notes issued in Sweden. It was dated 1660. The sum was no larger than '*tio daler silvermynt*' that is, rather more than a Spanish dollar, to which instrument the ten Bank directors set their names and seals!

Mr. James, in the same page asserts that it was not till 1789 "that gold and silver began to *grow really scarce* in Sweden!"

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall visited Sweden in 1774; *and his tour* is deeply tainted with the same levity and ill-timed sarcasm that occasionslly disfigure Mr. James's Journal, and his errors are, perhaps, much more numerous. In *Wraxall's* tour, p. 96, he asserts that during a journey of 400 miles; namely, from Helsingborg to Stockholm, he did not see one *bit* of *silver* or gold; and that the only circulating medium was *paper*, or copper! Mr. James was evidently ignorant of the Swedish tongue, or so many proper names of men and places would not have been so incorrectly spelt: which deficiency alone is almost an insurmountable obstacle in the way of every traveller to whom it attaches. It was in all probability, the reason of Doctor

deep grief and despondency. Those figures cast in gyps, were, in 1808, in Sergell's work room, that was filled with beautiful models and casts, the productions of his masterly hand. Amongst these objects, so fascinating to the admirer of exquisite sculpture, was a figure, also of gyps,

Thomson falling into such numerous and gross errors; many of which he might have avoided, even by consulting any Swedish and English dictionary.

Among the mistakes of minor consequence is, Mr. James terming the Gotha Älf, the river *Gotha*, vide vol. I. p. 5, and 16. That river takes its rise in the '*Alps of Norway*,' as the ridge of mountains are called, that separate the Stift of Trondheim (Drontheim) from Osterdalen. In Norway the stream is called the *Tryssild Elv:* where it enters Sweden, it takes the name of the *Clara Älf*.—Passing through Wermerland, it enters the Venern Lake at Carlstadt. The only outlet of that vast sheet of fresh water is near Wenersborg, and called the *Gotha Älf*, because it runs through West Gothland. Mr. Coxe committed this mistake in his travels, and it has been copied by every British traveller since his time.

Mr. James having arrived at Åbo, the *Obo* of Doctor Thomson, vol. I. p. 360, he mentions six *bas-reliefs* executed by a pupil of Sergell, illustrative of the history of learning in those parts, commencing with a fable from the *Edda*. It is to be regretted that Mr. James had not the curiosity to ask his name, nor the generosity to record it in his pages. Perhaps it was Mr. Johan Niclas Byrström, who, in 1808 resided in the house of Mr. Grevesmuhls, merchant (near Sergell's residence), on Brunkebergs Torget, Stockholm. Although it may be supposed the melancholy that oppressed his great master, must have been some impediment to his attaining that full degree of instruction he would otherwise have had: Mr. Byrstrom in 1808, had already distinguished himself, particularly by a figure,

representing Circe in search of her daughter, which was generally admired. Perhaps there was not in all Europe, Paris excepted, any sculptor's work, or exhibition room, that contained so many and as superb specimens; but it must also be remembered, except in France under Napoleon, in no country was such powerful patronage bestowed, as Sergell enjoyed under Gustavus the Third.

There was another creditable trait in the character of Gustavus the Third, relative to the patronage of arts and artists, which ought to be mentioned, and that was his steady and becoming carriage whilst sitting to sculptors or painters. On those occasions he forbade the presence of the fluttering insects that at once polluted and adorned

about 20 inches long, modelled from the Greek Endymion, and cast in gyps. There was also in the exhibition, a beautiful bas-relief, designed and modelled by this young artist, representing Virgil reading the 6th Book of the Adventures of Æneas to Augustus and Octavia, whose emotion were finely expressed where the poet said "*tu Marcellus erit;*" [thou shalt be Marcellus.] The possession of Swedish Finland by Russia, naturally drew away from Stockholm a large proportion of artists, who, under the protection of a sovereign who devotes *five millions of rubles annually* to the embellishment of his capitals, may acquire a degree of fame and riches not to be hoped for in Sweden: Mr. James's remarks, p. 365 to 368, fully corroborate the justice of General Sir Robert Wilson's assertion relative to the refined policy of Russia. Already it seems the people are reconciled to their change of masters, and the *rich* and *wealthy* are pleased with the more powerful protection of their conquerors.

his court, and afforded the artists a fair opportunity of displaying their taste and science to the best advantage.

The last work of Sergell's that the author ever saw, and, as he believes, the last this great artist ever executed, was the drawing, modelling, and casting in bronze, of the statue of his beloved king and patron, which magnificent piece of art was opened to the public, with the utmost pomp and ceremony, by Gustavus the Fourth, in February, 1808.

The Apollo Belvidere* is supposed to represent that deity at the instant when his arrows had pierced the heart of the Python, and before the twang of his mighty bow had ceased. Without being a copyist Sergell seized a similar happy thought, whereby to confer national interest on this statue. He chose the moment so dear to the hearts of Swedish warriors, when that monarch, flushed by recent victory, returned to his capital, from Finland, once more, to cherish and animate the fine arts, bearing in his hand the emblem of peace. As the battle of Svensksund paved the way to peace, Sergell skilfully availed himself of that circumstance, in grouping the statue: the head, small and elevated, is uncovered, leaving his flowing locks unconfined; the mantle, the ancient emblem of high command, gives breadth

* Vide Anmärkingar, &c. by G. A. Silverstolpe, Stockholm, 1808.

and harmony to the figure; the swelling chest, the firm, well turned, and nervous limbs, covered by a thin drapery in the Spanish fashion, and such as the king usually wore, shows his form to the utmost advantage, next to nudity. In his left hand, which he rests upon the rudder of a ship, the hero grasps a crown of laurel; in the right, gracefully extended towards his capital, the olive branch is borne. The face is more than a likeness; it is so very expressive of the animated original when lighted up by any great and joyful event, that it sensibly affected the warriors and artists who gazed on the statue, and by whom the memory of this monarch is still cherished.

In casting the statue, some material accidents occurred with the metal: exclusive of several minor defects, the right leg was displaced. These misfortunes, after great labor, were remedied by Sergell himself, who did not, however, finish this great work without the assistance of M. Prevôts, whose taste and science were eminently displayed in its completion, and generally applauded.

In 1808 Sergell was not accessible to his dearest friends. Captain Ker Porter found means, however, to gain access to the misanthrope: a compliment of which his subsequent conduct proved he was undeserving. The dethronement of Gustavus the Fourth affected Sergell seriously; the elevation of the Prince of Ponto Corvo more. The desponding artist absolutely refused to see the newly-

elected Crown Prince, who, resolving not to be disappointed, is said to have entered the chamber of the melancholy artist, paid him many compliments, and requested him to execute his bust in marble. The author is unable to state whether the request of the prince was complied with: most probably it was not: according to an account derived from an eminent artist before alluded to, Sergell has been dead some years,* and thus escaped seeing the throne of his beloved Gustavus filled by a FRENCHMAN.

The following catalogue comprises the principal labors of this illustrious artist, viz.—Cupid and Psyche, a groupe, large as life, in Carrara marble, intended to be placed in an elegant Grecian temple, erected in the park at Haga, after a design drawn by Gustavus the Third and his first architect, Desprez. In the apartment, called Pelaren Salen, *the Saloon of Pillars,* a Venus du Belle Fesses, and an Apollo, both of full size, and of Carrara marble. This magnificent room is lined with large mirrors of the finest Venetian plate glass. Each of these beautiful statues is placed between two pillars, and opposite to a mirror. The back of the Apollo is greatly admired by artists and

* The author spared no pains to acquire better information. He sent a messenger to May Fair, to the Swedish *Chargé d'Affaires,* who could not tell whether this great Swedish artist were living or dead! Many other applications were alike unavailing.

amateurs. • The head of the Venus was modelled from the Countess Höpkens, one of the handsomest ladies of the Swedish court.

In the velvet chamber, *i. e. sammets rummet*, are six marble busts* and richly wrought pedestals of white marble, representing Sophia Magdalena, consort of Gustavus the Third; the late king, when Duke of Sodermanland; and Frederick Duke of Östra Gothland, who died abroad; the Queen Dowager of Sweden, then Duchess of Sodermanland; Gustavus the Fourth, when young; and the Princess Albertina, sister to Gustavus the Third.

At the grand entrance of the east or north-east front, formerly the apartment of the Duke of Sodermanland, in 1808, was a copy of the Medician Venus, in white marble. It is not usual with artists of Sergell's rank to copy the works of any other master. It must therefore be supposed to have been executed to oblige the brother of his royal patron. It is allowed to have been copied so well, that, were it not for the effects of a couple of thousand years on the colour of the marble, they could not be distinguished. Mr.

* To artists of eminent taste and science, it must be a very irksome task to work on busts; more especially when the originals are mere living mountains of flesh, and their huge faces, loaded with pendent folds of fat, destitute of every thing animated or graceful. This was not the case with the late Gustavian dynasty, whose figures were, in general, fine, and their features expressive.

Johan Niclas Byrstrom, the last pupil taught by Sergell, informed the author that Sergell found one muscle wrong placed or wanting over the sternum. An English nobleman is said to have offered the duke two thousand guineas for this beautiful copy;* which was taken from the cast,† sent from Italy, and is exhibited in the royal Swedish academy of painting and sculpture.

In the mynt cabinet, Drottningholm palace, is a magnificent bust of white marble, of Queen Louisa Ulrica, large as life, placed on a superb marble pedestal. In the city, a monument to the memory of Des Cartes, in Fredrick's church, was designed by Sergell and executed in gyps. The design will not bear investigation,‡ but it is

* It has very recently been announced in the Morning Herald (17th March, 1818), that Canova declared, when in England, that the Marquis of Landsdown had purchased in Italy, and actually was in possession of the *original* Greek Venus, of which the Venus de Medicis is only a copy! Fifteen or twenty centuries hence, perhaps, this copy by Sergell may pass as the *original*, whence both the others were copied.

† "The royal academy of painting and sculpture, at Stockholm, contains a fine collection of casts from the ancient statues at Rome; these were the first impressions of the only moulds ever permitted to be taken. Louis the Fourteenth obtained that permission from the Pope, and sent the casts to Charles the Eleventh (of Sweden), which are therefore uniques of the kind. They were presented by Adolphus Frederick to the academy of painting and sculpture which he instituted," Vide Coxe, vol. iv. p. 7. (or rather his queen Louisa Ulrica.)

‡ When the sun or moon are introduced into landscape scenery, there are certain proportions observed by which har-

so beautifully executed that it enchants every beholder, and renders it a matter of serious regret it was not executed in marble or bronze. It represents an angel lifting a veil by which the globe had been covered, and illuminating it with a torch.*

mony is preserved. Not so with this much-admired design; the angel, that is represented flying above the earth and withdrawing the *veil*, or *drapery*, by which it was darkened, is larger than the earth itself!

It has been observed to the author, that the great northern sculptor has not left behind him any one design that bespeaks a bold and grand original genius; and that his great forte existed in his exquisite taste and high finish of his works. Viewed in this light, Sergell's Mars and Venus, Cupid and Psyche, Diomede and the Palladium, and even the colossal statue of Gustavus III. as far as the *design*, however classical, is concerned, might be termed common-place; but the beautiful proportions, fine outlines, propriety of attitude, symmetry of form, softness of muscle, loveliness of feature, the powerful and intense expression of *sentiment*, that distinguish the marbles wrought by his magic hand, cause the enraptured beholder to forget every thing except to admire, nay, almost to adore.

* Sir Robert Porter has committed himself in a very extraordinary way, in his criticism on this beautiful monument. He mistook it for L'Archeveque's work, and rudely condemned it! And he lavished the warmest praise upon the altar-piece that the latter artist had executed, supposing it to have been Sergell's work! How few artists can act with candour in judging of the labors of men possessed of a genius beyond their own flight. Sir Robert Ker Porter was, by nature, generous and liberal; both the artists whose works he reviewed were of deservedly great repute; and, in an abortive attempt to depreciate the merits of L'Archeveque, he only exposed his own infirmity. This was almost as bad as Acerbi, respecting Mrs. Müller.

Such are the principal works of Sir John Tobias Sergell, and the places where they are to be seen.

Desprez, an eminent painter and architect, held a high place in the king's esteem. The plans and model of the projected palace, intended to have been erected at Haga, offer irrefutable proof of fine taste and grandeur. It displays a degree of science and magnificence equal to the model of St. Paul's, such as Sir Christopher wished it should have been constructed.

Roslin was a favored painter: there were, in 1808, several very fine portraits of his painting in the grand palace at Stockholm. Sir Charles Frederick Von Breda, K. V. studied under Sir Joshua Reynolds. His presentation piece was a portrait of his great master, whose *manner* he has been frequently reproached for having copied too servilely. His pictures are to be seen in most of the royal palaces.

Mr. Westmüller's Ariadne was the means of raising his fame; but after the death of Gustavus the Third, the fine arts declined so rapidly that he migrated to the United States, where his talents have been far better remunerated, if not more admired, than in Sweden.

Messrs. Professors Piper and Tempelman have been already mentioned: those artists produced many fine specimens of their taste and science in architecture. Of the poets, the Chevalier Adler-

crantz and Thorild stand amongst the foremost; of the former, more remains to be said in the next chapter.

The result of the author's judgment, considering the immense difference between the encouragement given to painters in Sweden and in England; and also between the number of inhabitants of Stockholm and of London, the latter containing *fourteen times* as many people, and a hundred fold the wealth of the former, is, that the monuments of native talent exhibited at the royal academy in 1808 at Stockholm, were quite as creditable to Sweden, as those at Somerset House to Great Britain: and he regrets that so many British travellers, thoughtless of the immense difference between the wealth and population of the two kingdoms, and too fond of decrying every thing that is not British, have written so unjustly, and often ridiculously, of the arts and artists in Sweden.

As to engraving,* in every department of that

* The powerful impulse given to this art by Messrs. Boydells formed a new era: and if those adventurous individuals had been as circumspect as they were at first eminently fortunate, it had been better for themselves, and for the artists of the day. It is merely a trading concern; its principal patrons are persons engaged in trade. In France, Italy, and Germany, princes and nobles have stood forward to enable engravers of eminent talents to engrave from the finest pictures, and have rewarded them most munificently. No such patronage has been bestowed in England, and the art is *degraded* by the same

beautiful art, there exists no comparison. In Great Britain, it has obtained a decided pre-eminence over every other nation, excepting France. But this has been owing rather to the effects of commerce and the wealth it has so generally diffused. Mr. Martin, held the first rank as an engraver in Stockholm; and his brother, who visited London in 1768, was much admired as a painter of landscapes, in which pursuit, he was

hands by which it is adorned; for too many celebrated artists, when arrived at their greatest eminence, deceive the judgment of the inexperienced part of their customers, and abuse public confidence, by giving the sanction of their names to works of very inferior merit.

A new method of engraving, limited to particular subjects has been invented and brought to maturity by an historical engraver of established reputation, Mr. Cosmo Armstrong. The efficiency of this new discovery has been fully proved in an engraving presented by the artist to the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. The specimen was examined, and the public thanks of that society were voted to Mr. Armstrong for his original method of engraving, affirming that it was superior to any thing they had ever seen before. It is a method that is not possible to become common, for none but a first rate master will ever be capable of availing himself of its aid; and were this principle, jointly with his other knowledge of engraving, applied to the forming of Bank note plates, might not the crime of forging them be totally prevented, by rendering it altogether IMPRACTICABLE? Mr. Armstrong's new mode of engraving apparently possesses that capability. The plan recommended by Mr. Beaumont and others, would only render forgery *more difficult*. Mr. C. Armstrong's would go further, and prevent it altogether.

afterwards excelled by M. Louis Bellanger. There are many of their performances to be found in the royal palaces.—With these the author closes his account of the state of the fine arts under Gustavus the Third.

Of the king's talents as an artist,* there are, or rather there were, many specimens preserved in the palaces at Stockholm, Drottningholm, Haga, and Gripsholm; the meanest of which, if any

* In describing the metropolis of Sweden, vol. i. p. 193, Mr. James states, "At a little distance, a *low portico* obtrudes itself to notice, serving rather to disfigure than to ornament the view. It is no way worthy of mention, except on account of its singularity, fantastic fashion, and bad conception. One corner of the building of the mint being bevelled off, a four-legged protuberance, of the Doric order, was affixed thereto, in conformity with the whimsical fancy of Gustavus the Third, who was misled by an unfortunate prepossession in favour of his own talents as an architect. There certainly is not an instance in all London, and it is saying much, of a portico constructed with so little deference to correctness of judgment or true classical feeling."

Such are the harsh and unqualified terms of disapprobation in which Mr. James has condemned the taste of Gustavus the Third, because a portico has been constructed, the design of which is imputed to that monarch, that deviates from the chaste elegance and grandeur of the true Doric. The edifice to which it is affixed was erected long ere this intended embellishment was added. "*The corner*," as Mr. James has termed the east front of the original edifice, formed an unpleasing object, to *cover and conceal* which Gustavus had the portico in question placed there. It certainly is not a *low* portico, for the pillars are loftier, according to their diameter, than in any of the

thing *mean* was ever executed by his pencil, would prove the injustice of those who would deny his claim to pre-eminent excellence.

A volume might be filled with anecdotes and bon mots attributed to this monarch. The author will only repeat two which he heard in Stockholm, and believes to be original.

Doric temples at Athens, Delos, or at Pestum.* In Acerbi's Travels, vol. i. facing p. 42, a view of this portico is given. If the drawing was correct, the pillars are indeed not Doric; the frieze is a fancy arrangement; the capitals are not Doric; the entablature is too high, and *not sufficiently massive:* but local causes might, perhaps, be assigned to account for its disproportionate elevation. Whenever a traveller condemns any work of art altogether, his taste or judgment may always be doubted. The candid traveller, at all events, should point out its *specific* defects. The Doric portico of Covent Garden Theatre is a beautiful composition, and the best specimen in Great Britain, but it forms no essential part of the edifice. The magnificent Ionic portico, *behind* which, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Surgeons' Theatre is concealed, admits of the same observation. They are all of the description called *appliqué*.

* An artist of distinguished eminence, and well versed in the principles of architecture, and who has visited the Doric temple at Pestum, carefully examined the principles laid down in Rees's Encyclopædia, relative to the Doric order; but such was the confusion of references, *some of which were not to be found*, and others are misquoted, that it rendered the task laborious, and nearly defeated its object. If, therefore, the ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA should be as well executed, as the general plan is superior, a most important service will be rendered to men of science and literature. This, of course, depends on the spirit and judgment of the proprietors. All existent British Encyclopædias abound with extraneous and useless matter, altogether foreign to science; and there is scarcely any one subject, of which the account given will be found correct, if thoroughly investigated! The author referred to the word "*Sweden*," and he gained about as much useful information as if he had had recourse to a book on cookery.

Soon after Gustavus the Third returned from Italy, a speculative Scotchman, deceived by the exaggerated stories he had heard descriptive of the profusion and munificence of the king, presented him with a ship of an extraordinary construction. It had five masts; a false keel; the masts could be all struck; and there were wheels under her bends, by which she might be propelled in calms. The author has no recollection of any internal power by steam. The expense of this

Having vented his spleen at the *four-legged protuberance*, the tasteful and liberal traveller proceeds, like a Mohawk, cutting up the reputation of all the Swedish architects, living and dead, modestly affirms, that "whatever their *date* may be, whether they are designed in the Grecian taste, the Gothic, or the mixed, the same air and character almost universally prevails: a meagre and hungry style, with small windows and puny decorations, niggardly proportions, and devoid of any attempt at relief in their parts; they look bare and naked, resembling rather the outlines of a drawing of an elevation before it is filled up with shade, than a finished work." Such are the terms in which Mr. James characterises Swedish taste and science as to architecture; but, like all such sweeping anathemas that too frequently disgrace the pages of British journalists, certainly beyond *all* other nations, they reflect more discredit on the promulgator than the object against which they are directed; in this case they are decidedly unjust, for there are to be seen in Sweden many elegant structures compiled after the Grecian, the Gothic, and the mixed style, that completely answer and rebut his reprehensible assertions. At the rear, and opposite to, the great palace, in Slots Bäcken there is a structure, the collonade of which, made to shew a perspective view between a double line of pillars, under a vaulted roof, possesses almost matchless beauty, and is equal to the finest specimen to be found in London.

vessel was very considerable. The king admitted the North Briton to an audience,—complimented his genius and science, and decorated his breast with the order of Vasa. As soon as he was gone, Gustavus said aloud to Desprez, "Which of us has the best of the bargain? I have created him a knight of Vasa, the insignia of which cost me about a ducat, and I have received a present of a vessel that cost the projector many thousand dollars, but will never be any use to me, or any one else." The chagrin of the disappointed speculator, who had flattered himself with the hope of being appointed master builder to the Swedish navy, may easily be conceived. In 1808, the author saw the wreck of this ship, the timbers of which had almost perished where she lay, near the south end of Skibbsholm Bridge, and it was still distinguished by the appellation of *the sea monster*.

The almost childish attachment of Gustavus to etiquette, is notorious: he carried his claim of homage so far, that when he was in the great palace, he ordered every citizen, mechanic, &c. to pull off their hats as they walked across the quadrangle; and every time he passed through the city, foot passengers were required to take off their hats; and even the first nobility were expected to alight from their carriages, without regard to age or the state of the weather. It happened one day that the king's carriage being seen at a distance by Count Wachtmeister, he prepared to alight, but being corpulent, he backed

out. Meantime, the king wishing to speak to him, ordered his coachman to stop opposite to the count's carriage: the king, with his usual rapidity, began speaking to the count, but to his no small surprise, instead of his face, he saw only his stern. The count was, however, not long reaching the ground; and turning to the king, entreated him to pardon the infirmities of an old man, who was anxious to shew his sovereign every proper respect. "Your lordship has shewn me *more* than I desired to behold," said the king:—soon afterwards an order was sent to the count, by which he was in future to be excused from this humiliating homage. But the count would not avail himself of his exception, telling the king it would expose him to malevolent remarks; upon which Gustavus relinquished the degrading and ridiculous homage.

# GUSTAVUS IV. ADOLPHUS.

## CHAP. V.

*The governess and physician; or difference of opinion. —Governors and tutors.—Intolerant principles early inculcated.—Bigotry, political and religious. —Machinations of General Baron Armfelt.—The wise government of the regent.—Retrenchment and reform.—The flight, trial, conviction, and outlawry, of General Baron Armfelt.—Russian political intrigues and intriguers.—Imperial Russian gallantry.—A royal tour.—The king and regent at Petersburg.—A state secret.—Plots and counter-plots.—Firmness of the young king.—A disappointed bride.—The royal strangers return to Sweden.—Comparison between the policy of Catherine the Second and the ex-Emperor of the French.—Expiration of the regency.—The recall of Armfelt, and change of system at court.*

THE extraordinary circumstances connected with the parentage of this prince,—the catastrophe that occurred at his baptism; and the manner in which he was educated, and exhibited, have already been noticed. It was remarked in his childhood,

that he was the very picture of the queen; as he grew up to manhood, he became very proud of his resemblance to Charles the XIIth, which might as well be imputed to the lineage of his mother as of his father, both being descended from the princess Catherine, sister to the great Gustavus Adolphus, and great-grandmother to Charles.

To the Countess Rosen was entrusted the care of this prince in his first years. She was involved in frequent and ludicrous disputes with the physician appointed by the king, who replied to the complaints of the countess that the poor child was chilled, and his flesh turned black and blue from incessant and frequent immersions in cold water, by telling her that the only way the child could recover vital warmth was to continue the use of the cold bath! Doctor Sangrado said it was the want of bleeding and warm water that occasioned the death of all his patients; the Swedish physician had the same reverence for *cold* water, which he observed could do nothing but good! At last, however, the probability of the boy losing the use of his limbs became so great, that the physician was forced to relinquish the process; and the child, as if to mortify his tormentor, rapidly increased in strength and stature.

Baron Frederick Sparre* was selected by the king as the governor of this prince: he was ele-

* It was an ancestor of this nobleman who saved Gustavus, the son of Eric the XIVth, from being murdered in his infancy, by

vated to the rank of senator, and then entered upon his office, for which he might possess every requisite quality; but his best recommendation to the king, was his implicit obedience to his majesty's *prescriptions*, who paid the most minute attention, not only to the education of the child, but to his food, and bodily health. Baron Sparre maintained himself in this post several years. When the king announced his intention of going to Finland,* in 1787, and taking young Gustavus with him, Baron Sparre felt himself aggrieved,

order of his uncle, King John. This child was born in 1568, a few months prior to the deposition of his unhappy father, whose affection for this child and his mother, induced him, at that early age, to procure him to be acknowledged successor to the throne. When the deposed king was ordered to be sent off to Abo, to be there confined, Gustavus was taken from his wretched mother, bound with chains, put into a leathern sack, and ordered to be thrown into the Mälar lake, not far from the palace wherein he was born. An officer belonging to the court was charged with this horrid murder. He went before day-break to fulfil the king's commands; but being observed by a nobleman named Sparre, and closely questioned, he owned that the sack contained the late intended heir to the Swedish crown. The child thus rescued, was conveyed from Sweden by the friends and adherents of his father: he received a wandering education, and became highly distinguished by his talents, learning, and polite acquirements. An affecting narrative of the sufferings of Eric the Fourteenth, and this child, has been given by the Rev. Mr. Coxe, vol. iv. chap. 9, p. 256, &c.

* Amongst the MSS. formerly preserved in the library at Drottningholm, is a journal of this tour to Finland, which took place in 1787, written by the crown prince. He was only nine years old at the period. When the author was there, he asked for the journal, but the wachtmeister (attendant), said the king had taken it into his

affirming, it was his duty to go every where with his royal pupil. The king haughtily replied, that on this occasion he should fill the governor's place, and hoped he was as well able, as *entitled* to perform its functions. The baron being offended, was bold enough to enter a protest in the journals of the senate, which the king caused to be expunged. The baron then desired to be dismissed from his attendance on the crown prince, which the king refused. The following year Count Gyllenstolpe was nominated governor to the crown prince, instead of Baron Sparre. The literary part of the education of the young prince was entrusted to M. Rosenstein, the nephew of Count Hermansen, who had so considerable a share in helping the king to effect the revolution of 1772. M. Rosenstein was, however, no less indebted to his own talents and good fortune for his advancement; for he was the chief instrument through whose agency those extraordinary arrangements were made in 1777, between the king and queen, to which, in the following year, the crown prince owed his existence. M. Rosenstein had given such striking proofs of talent, or he was so much favoured by the king, that Count Hoepken,* a senator, proposed him as

own possession. It might have been wholly written by the prince at the time alluded to;—but the composition more probably was by M. Rosenstein. It was, without doubt, a literary curiosity.

* The Countess Hoepken was reckoned almost the first of the court beauties. When Sergell, the great sculptor, executed those exquisite pieces, the Apollo, and Venus de Belles Fesses, which

secretary to the academy of belles lettres. His character for abilities rising rapidly, sanctioned the king's choice, by whom he was appointed counsellor in the king's chancery, and decorated with the order of the polar star: honors which were the forerunners of others still greater.

Colonel Baron Wachtmeister was appointed as companion and attendant on the crown prince; but he was so offended at the outrage committed by the king in arresting Count Fersen, in 1790, that he desired to be permitted to resign, not only his situation about the person of the prince, but also the regiment which he commanded. The king strove to induce him to retain his employments, but the baron urged, with so much earnestness, the reasons which compelled him to persist in his determination to retire altogether from court, that Gustavus the Third with some warmth exclaimed, "*I think you would convince me that I ought also to resign.*"

Count Bonde* was placed by Gustavus the Third near the person of the prince; he was

were placed in the saloon of pillars in the palace of Stockholm, by Gustavus the Third, he took a model of the countess's face to serve for his statue.

* The noble family of BONDE is one of the most ancient and illustrious in Sweden. According to Mr. Ristel, from whose volumes these facts are principally derived, it had produced five kings, and fifteen senators in succession! It was in the hotel of the chief of this family that the Great, or *Stora Societet* was held in Stockholm in 1808. The countess was a most beautiful woman, but very strange rumours were afloat respecting the count, which, for the sake of human nature, it is to be hoped were founded in error.

also a favorite of the king; and this nobleman was either associated with, or followed by General Baron Armfelt, one of the lords of the bed-chamber; to whose pernicious influence many of the worst errors of the young prince might justly be imputed that rendered his future life miserable, and his reign inglorious.

The most exaggerated rumours were spread abroad by the agents of the king, or by foreigners, extolling the wonderful accomplishments and talents of the crown prince, reports which were, in some measure, countenanced by the heads of the university of Upsala, who *solicited* the king to permit that grave and learned body to elect as their chancellor a boy twelve years of age! On this occasion the king went in very great state * to Upsala with his pseudo son, where he remained near two months, using all his endeavours to confer importance on the heir to his crown, and make him familiar with the principal youths of Sweden.

The principles inculcated were calculated to fill his young mind with the most exalted ideas of his own importance; and to teach him to believe that Providence had placed a nation at his disposal, over whom he was born to rule, and from whom he would be entitled to implicit and passive obedience. His religious preceptors were equally

* The crown prince, OSCAR, the son of Charles the Fourteenth, John, has probably been elected chancellor of that university; and no doubt the venerable sages will find the most brilliant promise of future greatness in the royal youth; and, perhaps, with less duplicity than as regarded Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus.

assiduous to convince him that there was no salvation of souls out of the pale of the Lutheran church. He was taught to believe in the right divine of kings; and being particularly struck with the prophet Daniel's visions of the four beasts, the seven seals, the seven angels with seven trumpets, the beast with seven heads, and other divine mysteries, he took more pleasure in fruitless endeavours to unravel them, than in studies better adapted to form a wise and useful monarch. To this infusion of kingly pride on the one hand, and enthusiastic devotion to religious and mystical symbols on the other, is to be imputed the extravagant follies into which he ran, when, believing himself to possess the power of prophet, priest, and king, he proved his incapacity to steer the vessel of state amidst the hurricanes that prevailed, and compelled those to draw their swords against him, who would otherwise have bravely defended his throne, and readily sacrificed their lives in his service.

The influence of General Armfelt and his associates, impressed the young prince with a very unfavourable opinion of the duke, his supposed uncle. When Gustavus the Third was assassinated, the young prince, who was just turned fourteen, was inconsolable. He strove to force his way to the chamber where lay the wounded king, towards whom he felt a much stronger attachment than to her who was really his parent. He was taught to consider the French nation as the accursed of God—as the beast foretold by Daniel—as the scarlet whore mentioned in the Revelations; and his

feeble judgment, thus artfully misled, made him regard as a monster every one who was denounced to him as being a jacobin. When Gustavus the Third was shot by Ankarstrom, his pseudo son was taught to believe that the assassin was instigated by the atheistical French: and as the duke was known to be averse to the war which his brother was on the point of commencing, it was no very difficult task for General Baron Armfelt to poison his mind by insinuating that the same influence which had contaminated Ankarstrom, and caused the assassination of his father, had reached the duke, who might next remove, by murdering his nephew, the only obstacle that opposed his ascending the throne. The artful traitor went farther, insinuating that except himself, and his partisans, the young monarch had no sincere adherents in Sweden: and, as the empress Catherine stood committed with France, her power and her policy would counteract that of the regent, in case of the latter endeavouring to form a league against the king, with the rulers of France. By these dark and foul insinuations the judgment of the youthful king was warped and his thoughts bewildered: he was led to cherish feelings of suspicion and even hatred against his best and truest friends, and to regard with esteem the suborned agents of that wicked woman, to whose machinations the death of Gustavus might, with more justice, have been attributed, than to the influence of French principles or of French gold. This was the beginning

of those plots, hatched and matured by Armfelt, which aimed at accomplishing the death of the regent; to throw the king into the arms of Russia, and reduce Sweden to the state of a Russian province. The bosom of Gustavus the Fourth was thus filled with alarm and mistrust; and he was led to believe the most profound dissimulation was necessary to preserve his life. Whilst in his heart he feared and detested the regent, he shewed him every outward mark of profound homage; and whilst he secretly encouraged Armfelt in his plots against the regent, he assumed as great an appearance of respect towards that prince, as if he had revered him as his parent. By these practices the youthful monarch was initiated into a maze of falsehoods and error, and taught to believe that treachery was a virtue: he had also been instructed that laughing and playfulness did not become one born to rule over nations; thus constraint and duplicity, even in his youth, became habitual: he was generally very grave, and often melancholy.

No sooner was the regency fully established, than reduction and retrenchment took place in every department of the state, and those absurd edicts issued by his unfortunate brother, forbidding the people from talking of French politics, were recalled. The immense palace building at Haga, that would have required two millions sterling to have completed and furnished; as well as other works of magnificence, were instantly laid

aside, and the fine arts drooped in Sweden the moment their splendid patron was dead. The stones, bricks, and other materials that had been accumulating for years to build the palace, were, by order of the duke, applied to complete the war academy for military cadets, which institution, instead of Ulricsdal, was finally established at the Carlberg palace, about two miles north of Stockholm, where it yet exists.

Sweden soon felt the benefit of the wise government of the regent, although the deep wounds inflicted by the late king's profusion, and an expensive war, were not easily healed. The good sense and moderation displayed by Prince Charles, had a more powerful effect in checking the revolutionary spirit that was abroad, than coercive measures; but the tide of popular discontent ran high, and serious fears were entertained lest the army with which Gustavus the Third hoped to have restored the ancient despotism of the French monarchy, might overturn the throne of Sweden. The Empress Catherine was secretly chagrined on beholding the wisdom of Charles so likely to repair the mischief occasioned by the rashness and folly of Gustavus; and she used very unbecoming means to intimidate the regent, and divert him from the neutrality he had determined to observe.

In the year 1792, there were two parties in Sweden actively at work: the one was composed of General Baron Armfelt and his partisans, whose

object was to throw Sweden into the grasp of Russia; the other consisted of men more formidable by their talents than numbers, who conceived that Sweden was too poor a country to support a monarchical government and a large standing army. They were for adopting a government similar to that established in the United States, and to endeavour to do without a king, or hereditary nobles. A gentleman named Thorild, wrote a work entitled "*The Liberty of Reason developed to the Regent and the Swedish nation.*" The author addressed it to the regent, and called upon him to remove the shackles imposed by kings and oligarchs on human freedom, and dwelt with enthusiasm on the happiness Sweden might enjoy under a virtuous and frugal republican system. This happened on the 21st of December: in the evening, the pamphlet was suppressed, and the author taken into custody. The sensation produced by this step was such that a formidable insurrection was expected, and it was written on the walls, and openly avowed by the disaffected, that another Ankarstrom was wanting to cut off another tyrant. Nothing could be more irrational than such clamour, for the regent had restored comparative freedom of writing and of speech; and had introduced economy in the place of profusion. To calm this ferment, the government ordered the case to be decided on immediately. The next day the cause was heard: the burghers insisted that the doors of the court of justice should be thrown

open, and the proceedings public. The prisoner conducted his own case, and defended himself with so much spirit and eloquence, that the spectators caught the enthusiasm inspired by his bold sentiments, and loudly applauded certain passages in his speech. He was released, and on his return a large concourse of citizens followed his carriage shouting, *Liberty for ever! Thorild for ever!* These popular movements indicated a powerful and growing spirit of resistance to the government of kings and nobles, and had a proportionate effect on the councils of the regent, whose moderation and gentleness assuaged the rising storm, and averted a serious danger that threatened the existence of the monarchy.

When Great Britain and France were involved in hostilities, the neutrality of Sweden promised a golden harvest to her merchants and ship-owners. The empress spared neither threats nor bribes to induce the crown prince of Denmark, and the regent of Sweden, to take part in the coalition formed against France; instead of which, very early the following year, Sweden and Denmark formed a convention for the mutual protection of their commerce and navigation.

The celebrated Count Stackelberg, who had acted so conspicuous a part in effecting the destruction of Poland, was sent to Stockholm; where, assisted by General Baron Armfelt and his numerous partisans, those plots were matured, that continued to agitate Sweden during the mi-

nority of the king. One great object Catherine had in view by those plots, was to effect a marriage between Gustavus and her grand-daughter, Alexandra Paulowna. The regent opposed that design, and strove to direct the views of the young prince to a different quarter. This exasperated Catherine, and made her more than ever determined, by force or fraud, to carry her object. Baron Armfelt and his partisans, influenced by her gold, which was administered profusely, undertook to remove the regent; to form a government composed of persons devoted to the empress, and to cause the young king to marry the daughter of the Grand Duke Paul. In the course of the scandalous cabals thus created, the traces of Russian influence were so strong, and the regent made such spirited remonstrances to the empress, that Count Stackelberg was recalled, and Count Romanzof sent to succeed him. Although the men were changed, the same objects were pursued, and by the same means. The plots of Armfelt were aided and abetted by Count Romanzof, as they had been by his predecessor. The regent complained of this violation of amity; and the detection of Armfelt's conspiracy, left the empress no subterfuge to avoid Romanzof's recall. The young king gave Armfelt notice of his danger. The traitor effected his escape * from Sweden,

* In August, 1808, the author spent some days very agreeably at *Gustafswik*, the seat of Sir Charles Axel Lindroth, K. P. S. He heard much of General Baron Armfelt, to whom Sir Charles

as also many of his partisans: but they were proceeded against, and convicted, on the clearest possible evidence, of aiming at the subversion of the government and the murder of the regent.

and his family seemed much attached. Gustavus the Third, in 1788, paid them a visit, and was no less indebted to the loyalty of Sir Charles, in raising his tenantry to help repel the Danes, than for the kind and plenteous manner in which he was entertained, together with a numerous suite of officers and attendants. Previous to this period, the venerable seat was called *Westerwik*, but at the request of the king its name was changed to Gustafswik. They spoke of Armfelt as one of the best of men. He was just then dismissed from the command of the western army, and had retired to his estates by order of Gustavus the Fourth. Sir Charles seemed rather disposed to question the king's understanding than the loyalty of the disgraced favourite. This gentleman was himself an honourable and benevolent man; and his purity of heart perhaps led him to impute the ill spoken of General Armfelt, to party rancour. Living remote from the court, in the midst of ample estates, and a happy and prosperous tenantry, Sir Charles Lindroth reminded Mr. Brown of the patriarchial manner in which the chiefs of ancient and opulent families used to live in England. Except that he was no friend to land monopoly, nor large farms, he might with propriety be termed the Mr. Coke of Sweden, for he was the greatest improver of agriculture in all the country. But he was surrounded by a numerous race of sturdy and happy peasants, to whom he let his lands in small farms, on terms so easy that they paid their rents without difficulty: and by the excellent mode of cultivation he taught them, they grew comparatively rich, whilst the value of his land increased with equal rapidity. The eldest daughter of Sir Charles and Lady Lindroth was married to a Colonel De Le Grange, who was descended from an ancient and noble Scotch family, that migrated to Sweden in the disastrous reign of Queen Mary. The colonel was then a prisoner in Paris, on parole, having been taken prisoner in Pomerania. He was sent to Paris in 1809, by Charles the Thirteenth, with the news of the revolution in Sweden.

Sentence of death was pronounced against the chief conspirator, General Baron Armfelt; his estates were forfeited, and a board was placed under the public pillory and whipping post in Stockholm,* whereon his name, titles, crimes, &c. were inscribed. About this degradation the callous intriguer is said to have cared but little; and, after a variety of adventures, he made his way to Russia, where he was well received, and a handsome pension was allowed him. It was in vain the regent demanded the culprit from the different courts where the traitor dared to shew himself. The demands of the regent were evaded, and his ministers insulted, because the insidious Armfelt had every where represented him as a jacobin, as a second Duke of Orleans, as the enemy

* The place where the public whipping-post and pillory stand is in Normalm, called Ho Torget. Upon the top of the pillar stands a coarse figure, representing Justice, her eyes bandaged, and having the usual attributes. To this pillar are appended the massive chain and ring already described: the names of persons convicted of infamous crimes, who have been here exhibited or outlawed, are inscribed on boards nailed to the pillar. The name of SPRENGPORTEN was set up by Gustavus the Third, in 1789, and it remained there in 1808. ARMFELT'S name and crime was placed next; but in 1796 it was removed by Gustavus the Fourth; and it was remarked to the author, by a Swedish nobleman, that if the young king had dared, he would have exhibited that of the regent in the same place! Any person on being thus punished for swindling or cheating, has his name and offence also inscribed, and the date when his person was exhibited under the pillory with the iron collar round his neck.

of *regular governments*, and the secret friend and abettor of the revolutionists of France.

After the flight of Armfelt, papers were found proving that he had strove all he could to persuade the king to make a voyage towards the gulph of Finland, in order that a Russian frigate in waiting might, upon a signal previously agreed on, receive the young monarch, and convey him to Petersburg; but Gustavus was much too timid for such an enterprize, and he recommended Armfelt to take care of himself till he (the king) had attained his majority; "when," said he, "the authority of my uncle will cease, and I shall have it in my power to protect and reward the best and truest friend my father ever had." Such were the delusions practised on the young king,—such their calamitous effects!—And never was a sovereign prince more insulted and provoked by internal treachery and foreign influence, than the late King of Sweden during the time that he was regent.

To cut off all hope that Catherine might yet entertain of enslaving Sweden, by means of a marriage between Gustavus the Fourth and her grand-daughter, the regent negociated a marriage between the young monarch and a princess of Mecklenburg: they were solemnly affianced, and the approaching nuptials announced to all the courts of Europe. Count Schwerin was selected by the regent to carry the unwelcome news to the empress; but, such were her rage and indiscretion, that she sent orders to the governor of

Wiborg not to suffer the noble missionary to proceed!—Totally losing sight of that sagacity which had so long distinguished her public conduct, the empress, in a most extraordinary note, which attracted the attention of all Europe, not only reproached the regent of Sweden with being secretly connected with the regicides of France, but even insinuated that he had been *privy* to the assassination of his brother! A charge that was probably grounded in the malice of Armfelt, by whose partisans it was propagated; and, as if Catherine thought the *purity* of her hands from blood shed by assassins, had *never* been questioned, she ludicrously assumed the right of avenging the death of Gustavus the Third!

It filled her vindictive bosom with rage and disdain, to think that an obscure princess of a petty house, should be preferred to her granddaughter. She sent agents to Mecklenburg, who bribed or intimidated so effectually, that the princess formally relinquished the alliance, and notified the same to the regent. Whilst these base manœuvres were played off in Germany to prevent the intended marriage, preparations were made at Petersburg, indicative of an immediate war against '*the Regent*' of Sweden; both planks and straw were laid across the Neva, as if it were for the more secure transport of artillery into Finland; and Prince George Dolgorucky was sent to the frontiers as if to reconnoitre. A crowd of needy Swedish noblemen and courtiers, who had long

fattened on the public revenue under the late king, were ready for any enterprise that promised wealth and preferment: these became the willing instruments of Armfelt, whose influence was secretly increased by the known attachment of the young king. Thus was the kingdom filled with the foulest of insinuations. They represented the young monarch as being violently enamoured of the fair Alexandra, and about to be sacrificed by his unfeeling and remorseless uncle, whose impatience to enforce this marriage was such that he had not the decency to wait till the king, his master, became of age; because, as they pretended, the regent knew, that the king, if left to himself, would declare in favour of Alexandra! The countess of Lieven was governess to this young princess; and through her agency, in conjunction with General Armfelt, Counts Schwerin, Steinbok, and other Swedes of distinction, a correspondence is said to have been kept up between the lovers. The letters were shewn to the empress, who was so set upon this match that it was evident she would carry her point, if possible, indifferent by what means. Amidst this complicated machinery, M. Budberg, who had recently been to Germany, and carried back in his train to Petersburg, the princess of Saxe Cobourg* and her three daughters, for the inspection of the Grand Duke Constantine, was sent to Stockholm. This minister had in

* The mother of Prince Leopold of Saxe Cobourg.

his pay some very able auxiliaries, by whom his views were powerfully assisted. Monsieur Christine, a German, who had formerly been secretary to M. de Calonne, served M. Budberg as a secret agent. This gentleman paid court to the regent; and seized every opportunity of praising the beauty of the princess Alexandra; the good will borne towards his highness by the empress; whose anger, he said, had been occasioned by the sorrow she felt for her grand-daughter, whose affections were so completely engaged; and that all the empress wanted was, to have the marriage of the king deferred till after he became of age, that he might then decide for himself.

Thus beset at home and abroad, and fearful, if he persisted, that the empress would make war on Sweden, and too probably cause internal commotions; whereby she might acquire the same ascendancy she had obtained in Poland, he bethought himself of a stratagem by which he might avert the coming storm, and yet prevent a marriage taking place, that he could not contemplate without the most serious apprehensions of its giving Russia such additional means of increasing its influence in Sweden, as must soon reduce the kingdom to the condition of a province. He, therefore, listened with assumed complacency to the eulogiums pronounced by M. Christine on the Princess Alexandra; and the general deportment of the regent was such, as induced this secret agent of Russia to believe that he was intimidated by

the powerful and combined operations carried on against him, and inclined to capitulate. Dispatches were immediately sent off by M. Budberg to the empress, and by M. Christine to Madame Russ, the mistress of Count Markof; shortly after which the negociations that had been broken off, were resumed; and to the astonishment of all who had attended to these movements, the regent not only permitted the young monarch to accept Catherine's invitation to visit Petersburg, but, what was less expected and desirable, he even proposed to accompany him thither! No one was puzzled more than General Baron Armfelt, nor was any equally mortified, for he was afraid the regent was about to make his peace with Catherine in good earnest; and apprehensive the superior rank and importance of that prince might induce the Empress Catharine to banish him from her residence.

The regent of Sweden, the young king, and a numerous and splendid suite, arrived at Petersburg, on the 25th of August, 1796, and went to reside at the hotel of General Baron Stedingk. Passing by the costly and brilliant festivities that followed, during the stay of the illustrious Swedes (the description of which are to be found in other works), suffice it to state, that the 21st of September was appointed for the marriage of the king of Sweden with the fair Alexandra; and that day to which she looked forward as the proudest of her life, proved the reverse of her expectations, blasted

all her mighty projects, and gave her pride so violent a shock, that it affected her frame to a degree which accelerated her death. And all this was the work of the regent of Sweden! a man whom she had so often ridiculed, and so thoroughly despised; and whom she erroneously supposed had been bent to her purpose by intimidation. The fact is, that the regent finding it would be impossible to avoid a rupture with Russia if he did not appear to yield; and not being satisfied with the government of France, which had artfully deceived him respecting the subsidy promised by the committee of public safety; and to avoid plunging Sweden into a war that he knew the king would terminate as soon as his minority expired, and perhaps on terms of lasting injury to Sweden, the regent wisely resolved '*to stoop to conquer*,' and, if possible, outwit the sagacious MINERVA of the north.

The extreme tenacity of the young Swedish monarch on matters of religion, and his stubborn and intractable disposition, were well known to the regent. Gustavus looked on the Greek church as being more radically corrupt and inconsistent with Christianity than the Catholic; and the regent found means to influence his religious preceptor, who omitted no opportunity of instilling into his bosom new sources of aversion towards the Greek religion: and when the royal guests had arrived at Petersburg, the gross ignorance and superstition of the common people were

so palpable and disgusting, that it completed the aversion of the young king, which was the sheet anchor on which the regent depended to keep Sweden clear of the connexion he so much dreaded.* Nor were his calculations made on a false principle.

* This curious fact was communicated to the author when he was on a visit to Sir Herman af Lastbohm, K. P. S. at Niklasdam, near Christinehamn, on the 2d of August, 1808. This nobleman was one of Armfelt's most active and daring partizans, and, of course, a violent enemy to the regent and his ministers. When General Armfelt fled, and his papers were seized, a great number of his creatures were exposed and implicated. Sir Herman af Lastbohm then stood in that predicament. To get rid of his presence in Stockholm, the regent nominated him to the government of a remote and petty fort in Finland. Sir Herman understood that if he retired to his estate, and no more interfered with political matters, he need not go into banishment; for such the appointment was considered. With this injunction he readily complied. When the king had attained his majority, and General Baron Armfelt was recalled, the duke was driven from the political theatre, and his enemies appeared at the court of Sweden, decorated with honors, and invested with the first offices in the state. Sir Herman af Lastbohm was not forgotten; he was made a knight of the order of the polar star, ennobled and invested with many valuable employments. In 1808, the period treated of, he was president of the Kamar Collegium, and a member of the supreme court of justice in Sweden, of which the king himself was the president. Whatever might have been his political errors, nothing could exceed his hospitality. In the church of Christinehamn was a large altar-piece, given by one of his ancestors, an iron-master, or bruks-patron. Neither the drawing nor the colouring were very excellent: the subject was the Last Supper; the principal dish was *a roasted pig*, at which most of the apostles seemed to cast a wishful eye: they were all fair complexioned, with red hair, except Judas; who was drawn of a swarthy complexion, with his hair and beard both black.

The young king, delighted with the respect shewn to his will by the regent, used frequently to traverse with him the city on foot and *incog.* attended only by a confidential servant of the ambassador, (Baron Stedingk) who, on these occasions, acted as their valet-de-place. During these excursions the duke took care that the king should have an opportunity of witnessing some of the most disgusting examples of the idolatrous worship of the Greek church, and the gross ignorance and superstition of the Russians. The beauty of the Princess Alexandra Paulowna was of that fresh, youthful, and rosy kind, it was scarcely possible for any man to behold her without emotion; and the regent, who had all his life been a votary of sensual pleasure, spoke in rapture of her charms. The youthful king must have had a heart cold as marble not to have been captivated. The boy was amorous, and the beauteous Alexandra, kind, but Gustavus told his nominal uncle, he was afraid *her religion* would be an insuperable bar to their happiness. The regent heard him make this avowal with secret delight; all he said in reply was, that it was a point on which Gustavus had best consult his own judgment; knowing, if he had attempted to advise him against the marriage, it would possibly instigate him to its immediate completion.

The princess was at this time turned fourteen; she was a fine, plump, well grown girl, tall and womanly; her features were regular, her

complexion fair and blooming; her light flaxen tresses were as tastefully arranged as if Venus had been her handmaid. She had, during the last four years, heard so much of the young king of Sweden, that she had literally fallen in love with his pictures: his presence completed the conquest. Gustavus, if not as beautiful as an Adonis, was, at the age of seventeen, a handsome and elegant young man; rather tall in stature, and of an uncommon degree of gravity and grandeur in his carriage.

To excite desire in their youthful bosoms, the crafty old empress, called on Gustavus to impress on the virgin lips of her lovely and blushing child, a kiss of love; and she also caused them to be left alone that their mutual affections might be cherished and strengthened, little thinking how terrible a blow she was preparing for the innocent girl whose growing passions were so soon to be chilled and blasted. Catherine was unworthy of pity or respect; and it is to be regretted that all the suffering did not alight where all the guilt reposed. The fond girl thought herself the happiest of mortals, and strove to perfect her knowlege of the Swedish tongue, to render herself more agreeable to her future subjects, and had no suspicion of any disappointment, till the sad reverse burst suddenly upon her when she was arrayed in her bridal robes, and expecting, with a palpitating heart, her tardy lover at the altar!

The sagacious Catherine would not be per-

suaded that the sudden complacency of the Swedish regent was not assumed to neutralise her anger, and yet frustrate her plans. Her shrewd and penetrating mind soon discovered the sunken rock on which all those hopes might yet be wrecked. To be beforehand with the duke, and, if possible, beat him with his own weapon, she secretly enquired of the clerical chief of the Russian church, whether, for an object of the highest moment to the state, her grand-daughter might not *abjure* the Greek church, and outwardly profess that of the Lutheran? The chief priest, having sounded his brethren, and found them hostile to the proposed apostacy, bent his knee, bowed his head, and meekly said—"*Your majesty is all-powerful.*" The Swedish regent had played his cards admirably: he perfectly understood the nature of Catherine's religious creed, which was always made to give way to her inclinations; and he therefore caused his emissaries to raise a report, that the king of Sweden would not deign to marry a Russian princess till she should formally have renounced the Greek religion. It was this rumour which counteracted the last hope of the empress; for if she had persisted, it would have set the priesthood in arms, and might have given rise to schisms fatal to the internal repose of her mighty empire.

General Baron Armfelt, though thrown into the back ground, and not allowed to appear at court, was not idle. He had private communica-

tion with the king, to whom he insinuated that the regent, under the pretext of forwarding his majesty's interest, was secretly endeavouring to gain the confidence and goodwill of Catherine, that he might obtain the grand duchy of Finland during his life; intimating, that the only certain method of defeating his selfish views would be to act liberally towards his intended bride, and if his majesty wished totally to frustrate the designs of the regent, his readiest way would be to allow the princess to retain her faith. The king was not pleased with this counsel, and when next he saw the regent, looking steadily in his face, asked him what would be the effect of making a princess of the Greek church, queen of Sweden? "An insurrection, my king, and the loss of three crowns!" This laconic answer staggered his prejudices, for it struck him if the regent harboured the ambitious views imputed to him by Armfelt, he would not oppose any measure calculated to forward his selfish designs. Thus was the mind of the young monarch perplexed and bewildered; sometimes he was inclined to sacrifice his zeal for religion to his passion for Alexandra; at others to renounce her, all beautiful as she was, unless she totally abandoned the Greek church, and adopted the faith taught by Luther.

Meantime, General Baron Stedingk, the Swedish ambassador, at an audience granted for that purpose, formally demanded the lovely young creature in the name of his monarch; and the 21st of

September was appointed for the performance of the marriage ceremony.

A more lovely, or a more splendid object was never beheld than Alexandra Paulowna, arrayed in her bridal robes. She was surrounded by all that was great and imposing in the Russian court. The empress, the grand duke Paul, and his consort; their children, with their numerous and gorgeous train, were all assembled in their grandest state dresses: and the fee-simple of the nation over which the young bride expected to be the queen, would scarcely have produced a mass of wealth, if put up to sale, equal in value to the gold and gems displayed that day. The young monarch was arrayed with great pomp, as well as the regent, and their numerous suite. The minute arrived when the king of Sweden should have appeared; but he came not. Notwithstanding the rouge on the wrinkled brows of the aged Catherine, consternation and dismay were visibly pourtrayed. Her favorite, prince Zubof, appeared, whispered to his sovereign, and again departed; presently he returned, and as quickly made his exit. It could not be concealed from the young bride that something went wrong; and she was too young and too deeply affected, to conceal the emotions that arose in her troubled mind. The empress seemed scarcely able to restrain the rage that flashed in her eyes, and swelled her indignant bosom. Hour after hour passed away, whilst the trembling bride, and her august relations, impa-

tiently waited, from seven o'clock till ten, when the Russian ministers, in a manner petrified with amazement and terror, were forced to announce to the empress, that the king of Sweden had peremptorily refused to sign the contracts laid before him, and had actually retired to his apartment!

Never was Catherine so completely overwhelmed with rage, shame, and grief. The intensity of her feelings, and the necessity of restraining them, produced a slight stroke of apoplexy. Every limb shook, and her face underwent sudden and violent convulsive changes. When able to rise she could not speak, and was led, or rather carried, from the astonished crowd of nobles to her boudoir, where she gave vent in tears and sobs to the pent-up passion that had like to have snapt the thread of life in twain.

As to the beauteous and weeping bride, no pen can describe her sorrows. When her splendid garments were being taken off, she hid her face in the bosom of her favorite governess, Mademoiselle Villarof, and their tears were mingled together: but soon that relief was denied, her tears ceased to flow; convulsed fits of horrible laughter succeeded; the court physicians were called in, and all that night the afflicted princess fell from one hysterical fit into another, so that equal and serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of her life, and of her intellects.

The mental sufferings of the empress were acute, and their effects, in a few weeks afterwards,

ended her life; but they were richly merited, and she deserved no commiseration.

The immediate cause of all this confusion arose from a gross deception attempted on the part of the Russian ministers, who interpolated into the marriage contract conditions* different from those acceded to by the king of Sweden. The Russian ministers thought, by delaying the documents to the last moment, the young king could never have patience to read them deliberately; but they were mistaken: Gustavus perused them with as much gravity as if he had been a judge. When he came to the clause whereby the Princess Alexandra, when queen of Sweden, was to be allowed the public exercise of the Greek faith, he turned towards Markoff and said, "Was this inserted by order of the empress?" who, answering in the affirmative, the king said in a firm, resolute tone, "I never agreed to this, and I will not sign it." It was in vain that the great officers of the empire told him the empress and his bride were in waiting. Besborodko, Markoff, Zubof, successively urged and entreated the king to sign: he had taken the advice of his ghostly director, Doctor Fleming, who was a high Lutheran, and foretold the complete destruction

* The chief of these conditions were, that the princess should have a Greek chapel and Greek clergy in the palace, and that the king should immediately declare war against the French republic: the first interpolation arose from the command of Catherine, and the second more immediately from the management of General Baron Armfelt.

of the reformed church in Sweden, if such an abomination were suffered; the priests of the Greek church were no less peremptory against the least concession; and this clashing of prejudices produced the exact effect that the regent intended and anticipated.

The young king deserved great credit for the stand he made; for he could not yield without compromising his own honor, and that of his kingdom. The regent walked aside with Gustavus, and apparently, by his looks and gesture, was using entreaties; but to what purpose can only be conjectured. Meantime all the Swedish nobles joined in the most pressing solicitations that the king would not break off the marriage; but he turned a deaf ear to their supplications, exclaiming, "I cannot, and I never will sign these papers:—I will not do any thing contrary to the laws of Sweden."

Thus, through the secret agency of the regent of Sweden, was this match broke off, through which Catherine the Second hoped to have acquired that preponderating influence in Sweden, that should soon add those realms to the Russian empire.

Within a day or two of these extraordinary events, the birth day of the Grand-duchess Anna Feodorowna, the wife of the Grand-duke Constantine occurred, when a grand ball was announced; the empress was there also, and the young king, who paid her the most marked respect, which the imperious woman did not deign to

return by the slightest act of courtesy. The regent did not shew himself; and as to the princess, she was too ill to appear—her heart was almost broke. Gustavus probably felt more affection for her than towards any other object, but he was much less affected:—he danced with the princesses of the imperial house, conversed with the Grand-duke Alexander, and retired at an early hour from an assembly where constraint was visible in every countenance, and no one seemed at ease. The empress did not stay five minutes in the ball room; and the favourites', and ministers' looks, which were sullen and resentful, shewed how deeply the resolution of a mere boy had wounded their pride, and humbled their ideas of self-importance. When Gustavus withdrew, he was more than commonly ceremonious, bowing to the principal personages, by way of bidding them adieu. This was the last time Gustavus the Fourth appeared at the splendid court of Catherine the Second. He saw her afterwards in private; and attempts were made to renew the negociation, which Gustavus artfully eluded, by proposing to refer the question to the diet that was to be assembled when he came of age; declaring, his readiness to marry Alexandra, if the four estates of Sweden consented to permit a queen of Sweden to profess the Greek religion!—The autocratix heard these expressions with disdain; believing, and perhaps with truth, they were intended only as a feint to cover his fixed

resolution never to accede: she told him, if that were his only objection, to call the diet immediately, and she would order an army to assemble, competent to enforce obedience if his subjects rebelled.

The regent and king of Sweden made preparations for leaving Petersburg; and magnificent presents were interchanged, and bestowed on the respective courtiers of either court; those of Sweden were remarked for their magnificence and value, which was owing to the regent, for the young king had already given decided proofs of being of a niggardly and parsimonious turn.

The regent visited the grand duke Paul* at Gatschina: the latter, was not over polite to the former; and for once in his life he seemed to coincide with the public policy of his mother, and to manifest the most glowing zeal for the interests of the Greek church. It is, however, by no

* It was confidently asserted at Stockholm by persons connected with the court in the spring of 1808, that the reason of the dislike expressed by Catherine the Second towards the grand duke Paul, was, because he was not her son! It was pretended that Catherine's son, died very young of the small pox; that his death was concealed, and a child, of the same age, taken by chance from an orphan house, substituted instead. There was preserved in the anatomy figure room of the royal academy, the anatomy of a murderer whose skull and features bore a remarkably strong resemblance to the emperor Paul. These tales were told; and resemblances found, when Sweden was at war with Russia. On such occasions, as it is with general elections in England, all the faults of the contending families are sought for generations back, and flung in each other's faces.

means improbable, that the aversion he manifested, arose from the gay and splendid habiliments of the Swedes, which formed so striking a contrast with the grotesque figures, that dressed in Paul's costume, stalked about his palaces in constant dread, lest by some unhappy accident, such as not putting on their caps, according to order, or carrying their heads sufficiently erect, they should excite the rage of their merciless master, whom no mortal knew how to please or to obey.

The regent and the king having escaped the political toils spread by Catherine the second, departed early the eighth morning after that appointed for the marriage, and arrived safe at Stockholm. There is, at least, this merit due to Catherine the Second, that having had the only two heirs to the Swedish throne in her hands, she did not make them prisoners* and seize on the

* The short sighted policy adopted in 1807 by Napoleon Bonaparte towards the Bourbons of Spain, has, in some degree, given a *colouring* of retributive justice to his present isolated and melancholy state. It is, however, an act as little to be justified as that with which his enemies reproach the ex-emperor. Catherine, with provocations equal to the gaolers of Bonaparte, with political temptations as strong as those which seduced the latter, wisely abstained from confining or murdering her royal guests, although the crime might have thrown all Sweden into her hands. There is not in all Europe, at the present day, a single monarch who might not, five years back, as reasonably have anticipated the dreadful banishments inflicted on the great conqueror of Europe, as that it should ever be his fate. The example sets aside the finest qualities of the human mind; oppresses the fallen, and violates the law of

kingdom. She certainly had the power to do this, and she suffered them to depart.

Thus terminated, the second expedition of the young king of Sweden into foreign countries in search of a wife; whilst, according to a work, whence some of these particulars are selected, the empress Catherine caused no less than ELEVEN German princesses to be sent for and shewn to her son and grandsons, from whom to select a bride!*

The year 1796, was remarkable for its incidents. This visit to Petersburg, and apparently intended intermarriage between the king of Sweden and the grand daughter of the empress, was viewed with jealousy and mistrust by the French government; who ordered M. de Rehausen, who had been sent to succeed Baron Stael of Holstein,

honor and of nations: as a precedent it is highly dangerous: and some of those princes by whom it has been adopted, or their descendants, may as bitterly rue the short sighted policy that led to the incarceration of Bonaparte, as that great man certainly *must* have regretted his treatment of the Bourbons of Spain. Great moral principles are seldom if ever violated with impunity. The mighty power of Russia on the one side; the rising greatness of the United States on the other, must rapidly and inevitably lower the positive, and comparative power and influence of Great Britain. It was once proposed by some public writers in London, to send Mr. Maddison to St. Helena. It was rash to throw out such a hint. The experience of the next seven years will probably, by its bitter fruit, prove its impolicy.

* These princesses were thus selected, *three* from Darmstadt; *three* from Wirtemberg; *two* from Baden; and *three* from Saxe Cobourg. Vide vol. i. p. 131. *Secret Memoirs of the Court of St. Petersburg.*

whose political opinions were supposed to be more favorable to France than those of the former; whom the French government openly accused of being a creature of Catherine's. These indications of an approaching alliance with the imperial family, and a war with France, caused great discontent, the majority of the nation being decidedly averse to both measures.

Soon after the return of the king and the regent from Petersburg the king arrived at his majority, and the regent, faithful to his promise, surrendered a sceptre which, without risk he might have retained, and retired into private life. No sooner were the reins of power in his own hands, than the young monarch dismissed the regent's ministers, and recalled Baron Armfelt from banishment. He was, however, compelled *to pardon* the delinquent whose estates and titles were restored; the board nailed to the pillory at the Hö Torg was removed, but all the influence of the king was inadequate to the task of inducing the Ryk Drotts (Lord Chancellor of Sweden) to erase the record of his conviction from the journals of the courts of law. A resistance to the errors of a young monarch, and the subtle arts of a veteran intriguer, that are as decidedly honorable to the character of Count Wachtmeister, as of the equity of the sentence, by which the criminal had been found guilty of high treason against his country, committed at the instigation of Russia.

## CHAPTER VI.

*The marriage of the king.—His extraordinary demeanor.—Northern confederacy.—Despotism of Gustavus IV.—His personal character and habits.—Insults and torments his queen.—Destroys the relics of Swedish liberty.—His military incapacity. His* discretion.—*Anecdote of Count D'Essen and the king.—His inveterate enmity towards Napoleon Bonaparte and the French.—Acts of treachery and cowardice imputed to the king.—His superstition.—Description of Mr. Edward Thornton's first audience.—Brigadier-general Sir Levet Hanson.—Order of St. Joachim.—Lord Nelson and Sir Robert Ker Porter made knights of that* illegitimate *order.—A caricature of the king.—The Copenhagen expedition.—Gustavus IV. suspects the faith of Great Britain.—Anecdote of Admiral Stedingk.—Anecdote of Louis XVIII.—Anecdote of Baron Hjerta.—The dethronement of Gustavus IV. conditionally resolved upon.—Overture of the Swedish patriots to Mr. Spencer Perceval.—The Duke of Gloucester might have been King of Sweden.—The revolution of* 1809, *and dethronement of Gustavus IV.—The cause of the election and death of the Prince of Augustenborg; and of the election of the Prince of Ponte Corvo.—Anecdotes respecting Gustavus IV. after his dethronement.*

THE king being determined no longer to live a bachelor, went forth a third time on a matrimonial

expedition. The princess Frederika Dorothea, daughter of the hereditary prince, and granddaughter to the reigning great duke of Baden, was the object of his choice, and a better he could not have made. Her sister, at fourteen years of age, had married the Russian grand duke Alexander. The bride, chosen by the king, was lovely in her person, and amiable in her disposition; and about eighteen at this period. It was likely this princess should have peculiar attractions, for the court of Baden was, perhaps, the most cultivated, and the least corrupted in all Europe.

When the beauteous young stranger arrived at Stockholm, her presence was hailed with general acclamation. Even the most unrelenting and stern of the nobles, who had not yet digested the *psalm tunes* that Gustavus the Third taught them to sing in 1772, yielded a ready homage to her beauty, and appeared at court to assist at the marriage ceremony: which, on the 31st of October, 1797, was performed with all the splendor that Sweden possessed, in the Ryk's Sal, or grand Saloon of the States, in the royal palace of Stockholm. It was remarked to the author, by ladies who appeared in the train of the fair bride, that even on this occasion, the young king relaxed not the least from that gravity and solemnity of carriage by which he was distinguished, more than for graceful motion. They said it was enough to chill the bosom of his bride. The imputed coldness was, however, only external, for such was his ardour on the wedding-night,—the first no

doubt, he ever passed, since his childish days, in the arms of a female; that the affrighted bride, fleeing from his rude embrace, confused and trembling, fled for refuge to her female attendants in the anti-chamber,* nor was it till some weeks had elapsed, that the marriage was consummated.

The efforts made by the king to embroil the German courts, are well known to Europe, and also the disrespect he manifested towards France. He envied England the empire of the sea no less than the French their victories by land; and when the frequent captures of neutral or neutralised ships, by British cruizers, aided by the remonstrances and intrigues of France, led to the formation of a second northern confederacy, notwithstanding the crippled state of the Swedish navy, Gustavus was loud in his declamations. Denying the right of search, and forbidding his naval commanders submitting, except to overwhelming force, he caused the capture of a Swedish convoy, which celebrated event furnished Sir William Scott, the chief judge of the British court of admiralty, with an opportunity of displaying all his eloquence and professional science.† The result is too fresh in the

* Many witty, and some not over delicate verses, were written by the poets of Stockholm on this occasion; and the fact, that ought to have been concealed, found its way into the Morning Chronicle!

† On this occasion the learned Judge dwelt with marked emphasis on the ubiquity of the law of nations: and did not hesitate to say it had no locality, but like the breath of heaven, was equally enjoyed by all; and that, if he sat at Stockholm or London, if he

memory of the public to require much detail. The king of Sweden was stubborn and noisy: the Danes silent and determined. A powerful fleet appeared before Copenhagen: the Danes fought desperately, and suffered greatly, but were forced to yield; and the second armed neutrality of the north was suddenly dissolved.

This failure would have irritated the king much more, if he had not been gratified by the heavy loss sustained by the Danes; at which he openly rejoiced.

By this time the king had fully displayed all the crudites of his disposition. Aiming at absolute power, he trampled on the rights of his people, and violated his oath. At the diet held at Norrköping in 1800, he threw off the mask, and so greatly disgusted several patriotic nobles, that they threw up their patents of nobility. Amongst those patriots, the Barons Hjerta,* and Silverschjöld, and Colonel

judged for Sweden or for England, his principle of action, and its result, would be the same. Lord Erskine and the author of the Northern Courts had once a serious conversation on this declaration, and the doctrine held in the same place, by the same judge, in 1806 and 7, when he abandoned the high ground taken in the Swedish convoy cases; and acting on proclamations, that annihilated the law of nations, he felt himself reduced to shape his decisions according to instructions, and to declare that, for the preservation of commerce, *simulation* and *dissimulation* as to ship's papers, must be tolerated. What a falling off was here! What concession more incompatible with christianity, was ever required of the Dutch at Japan.?

* Dr. Thomson spelt this gentleman's name *Jerta*, and has spoken of his *temper* in rather too coarse a manner.

Skjöldebrand; were particularly distinguished. The whole kingdom was filled with indignation; but the advice of General Baron Armfelt and Count Ugglas, prevailed. It was *then* foretold that the next diet would dethrone this rash untractable king, and the event verified the prediction.

Gustavus considered his ministers and his office clerks, much in the same light, and rendered himself obnoxious, ridiculous and dangerous, by grasping at the power of prophet, priest, and king. His motives might not be founded in vice, but no goodness of intention could justify his conduct. All sufficient in his own estimation, with matchless gravity he committed the most ludicrous blunders, of which no one dared to remind him, for his temper grew extremely violent, and his pride would not brook advice, still less endure remonstrance: hence, none but the base and servile could approach his person, whose total want of moral principle rendered them willing tools: indifferent as to distant consequences, and delighted with the sweets of office, they unfeelingly aided in the destruction of what remained of constitutional freedom.

As a master, the king was irregular in his carriage, capricious, and violent: he was mean and sordid in trifles, and as a husband, perhaps with the best possible intentions, he contrived, soon after her marriage, to render his queen miserable. The author was assured in Sweden, that on the evening of the day of his marriage, he

required his blushing bride to read aloud in a German bible the first chapter of Esther, and he told her with more candour than suavity, to be prepared to pay him obedience, for, like King Ahasuerus, he was resolved to bear absolute rule within his own house!

Full of health and youthful spirits, the amiable young princess, by her graceful manners, and undeviating good humour, gained the warmest affections of her attendant train. She treated the ladies of her court as her equals; their daughters became sometimes her playfellows. But there was nothing rude or boisterous in her manner; it was innocent cheerfulness, and fascinating playfulness. Her kind and gentle heart sighed for the happiness that none but kindred minds can impart; and though she was not happy, she generously strove to make every being round her happy and contented.

Gustavus took it into his sapient head, that King Ahasuerus, did not allow either Vashte, or Esther to appear gay, to laugh, or show any symptoms of *gaeite du cœur*. He also discovered that as his wife she had no equal in Sweden, she ought not to have a friend; nor, even in her own bedchamber, suffer any of her ladies to accost her with familiarity. The expressions, "my dear friend," "my dear Charlotte," were formally and for ever interdicted. With a mixture of solemnity and wrath, he accused his weeping queen of having lost sight of her exalted station;

and was gentlemanly enough to allude to the *petty court* where she had been educated, as the cause of her palpable want of dignity!—It happened, however, soon after one of these grim lectures, he chanced to catch her romping with one of her maids of honour. If he had heard that the world was to be destroyed next day, or that the most terrible of pests was desolating his metropolis, he could scarcely have appeared more completely horror-stricken! He drove the unfortunate ladies from her court, calling them very uncourteous names, and actually threatened to send the queen back to Baden, if ever she was caught at play with her attendant ladies! The weak monarch treated a levity that was natural to her age, and free from the appearance of vice, as an affair of state; her youthful attendants were removed, though their ancestry was almost as illustrious as her own; and their places were filled with ancient dames, whose rigid features and stiff manners banished from the presence of the youthful queen the light and elegant figures of her juvenile attendants, and the affectionate smile, and cheerful glance, were seen no more. Henceforth she had no companion but the priest, and king, her husband. Thus rudely deprived of the society she loved, and of the blessings of social intercourse, her spirits drooped, and the rosy bloom of health forsook her cheeks. The isolated princess, the consort of a king, felt desolate and alone in the midst of a

crowded palace; and her aching heart regretted the refined society, and elegant pleasures of her native home.

It was not to be wondered that a structure where his supposed father had been murdered, and which stood full in view of his state apartments, should remind him too often of that melancholy event; but it surely was absurd in him to wish to destroy an elegant and costly structure on that account? This was opposed by persons who had a legal claim on the property, and by the burgomasters and aldermen of Stockholm; an opposition that filled his mind with rancour, and rendered him unwilling to reside in a metropolis where he pretended his life would be in danger, because the edifice was not demolished in which his father had been slain. The king was very strongly inclined to order the guards to demolish the obnoxious structure.

Europe breathed awhile, after the treaty of Amiens, and nations, weary of war and revolutions, hoped to enjoy permanent repose, but the rupture of that treaty soon dissipated those pleasing expectations, and the renewal of hostilities in 1803, between France and England, endangered the tranquillity of every other nation.

Seconding, as it were, the efforts of the British government, to shake the yet unstable power of France, Gustavus the Fourth traversed Germany, striving to form a new coalition.

During these peregrinations, he was accompa-

nied by his mild and gentle queen, who sacrificed her happiness to her duty, debarred herself every social enjoyment to gratify the whims of her capricious lord.

From July, 1803, till February, 1806, this monarch continued absent from his dominions. Whilst he was rambling far from Sweden, some wag posted a placard near the great palace at Stockholm, offering a considerable reward to any one who might be able to give information to the Swedish nation where their king might be found!

The detection of the conspiracy formed for the assassination of Bonaparte, and the consequent seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, agitated the mind of this monarch to an extreme degree. The Swedish minister was immediately recalled from Paris, and all communication with France prohibited. A paragraph in the Moniteur having given offence to Gustavus the Fourth, the French embassy was immediately ordered to quit Stockholm, and Gustavus next forbade the introduction of foreign journals of all descriptions. The emperor of the French seemed to estimate at a proper value the importance of these events, and did not seem at all inclined to make Sweden suffer for the follies of its king. This conduct irritated Gustavus almost to madness: he purchased busts of the Emperor Napoleon, engravings, &c. which he treated with the utmost contempt, as if he thought Bonaparte must feel the indignities offered to plaister or paper! Such was the

impotent malice with which the half frantic monarch vented his senseless rage.

The king of Prussia complimented Napoleon on his elevation to the imperial dignity, and sent him the grand cross of the order of the Black Eagle: disdainful of such an associate, Gustavus returned the insignia of that order: next the Prussian minister was recalled from Stockholm, and the commerce of Sweden suffered by this wanton act of arrogance and folly.

Indefatigable in his exertions to create enemies towards his person and dominions, Gustavus contrived to insult his brother-in-law, the Emperor Alexander. The grand cross of the order of the Seraphim was returned to Gustavus, after the death of the unfortunate Emperor Paul, by whom it had been worn: but the bearer was not descended from a family sufficiently illustrious! a Russian minister on his way to Sweden, was sent back to Petersburg, and permission to proceed, refused. And, as if he had been the sovereign of thirty millions of people, and determined to pick a quarrel with a *feeble neighbour*, he seized upon the Russian moiety of the wooden bridge at Aberfors, which marked the boundary between Russian and Swedish Finland; and persisted in painting it in the Swedish colours. These petty squalls at last, however, blew over: greater objects demand the attention of the imperial court; hence, an accommodation of those little matters was soon effected. On the 15th January,

1805, a defensive alliance was signed between Sweden and Russia, by which Gustavus was to have commanded the *Russian army*, which, in conjunction with 25,000 Swedes, and an auxiliary British force, was to have invaded and subdued the Batavian republic. A more effectual mode of lowering the crest of Russia, and diminishing her power, could not have been hit upon than placing a Russian army under the command of Gustavus the Fourth.

When the king concluded an offensive alliance with England against France, all the cash he could procure was 60,000*l.* and that was to be expended in putting Stralsund in a state of defence. Amidst numerous acts of folly and caprice, there was *one* principle from which he never varied; and that was the necessity and expediency of re-establishing the throne of the Bourbons. In this pursuit alone he was sincere and consistent. There were other and far greater powers, who were no less desirous to restore the Bourbon throne than the king of Sweden, and mean enough to disavow that object, and have recourse to innumerable subterfuges to disguise the truth.

The intemperate conduct of the king of Sweden perplexed and offended the emperor of Russia, who was then at Berlin, and also the king of Prussia. Gustavus *renounced* the command of the Russian army on its advance to the Elbe: jealousy of Prussia prevented his permitting the Swedish troops from quitting Pomerania, and it was in vain

that General Tolstoy, to shew that Sweden was not offended with her allies, requested that 3,000 Swedish troops should march with the Russian army.

The effect of this misunderstanding affected the emperor of Austria very injuriously; saved Holland from being devastated, if not subdued, and her navy from destruction; thus Gustavus the Fourth confounded the projects of his allies, and most essentially promoted the interest of the emperor of the French, against whom he was infuriated almost to madness.

Negociations with Prussia were renewed; the Swedish troops were put in motion, but nothing of importance occurred. Gustavus would not deign to consult the Governor General D'Essens, as to the marche route, and not unfrequently regiments were ordered to halt at villages, which were no where to be found except on erroneous maps. From this almost incredible carelessness, the battalion of guards and the king's regiment, were, on the 26th of November, without shelter in the most inclement weather. The same disorder prevailed as to forage and magazines, the commissariat being directed to form them in one place, and the commanders of the troops to seek for them in another! How unlike the great Gustavus Adolphus was the next king who bore his illustrious name!

The Swedes were ordered to march into Hanover; they took possession of Haarburg, where

they were commanded to double the customs, and seize a moiety of the proceeds for the use of the Swedish army. This act, which violated the letter and spirit of the treaty of Westphalia, gave deep and general disgust, and produced *twenty and six dollars!* Gustavus the Fourth might have accommodated matters with Prussia, and have obtained the command of a Prussian army, but though fond of his resemblance to Charles the Twelfth, he had no appetite to share in such perils as those by which the envied glory of Charles the Twelfth was gained.

Whilst this puerile monarch was thus engaged in petty details, and disgusting the Swedish army by keeping out of the reach of danger, he was filled with horror and dismay on hearing of the subjugation of Austria, the defeat of Russia, and the dissolution of the coalition; but those disastrous tidings had no effect in detaching Gustavus from his follies. After the British troops had returned home, despairing of reconquering the Electorate of Hanover, he assumed the title of Protector of the territory of Läuenburg! The Prussians approached to dislodge him: but ere they could arrive, he had the *discretion to retire* to Ratzburg, leaving 1,800 brave Swedes, commanded by Count Löwenhjelm, to face the Prussians, with orders to fire upon an army irresistibly powerful, compared with their inconsiderable force, if the Prussians attempted to cross the Rhine. Much discontent was excited by the Swedes continuing so long in the occupa-

tion of Mecklenburg. The king was informed by Mr. Fox, that the elector of Hanover wished him to retire. He seemed inclined to consider Läuenburg as a Swedish possession, till after a general peace. But the offensive and defensive alliance that was soon afterwards formed between France and Prussia, as the price of which Hanover was consigned over to the latter power, soon altered the face of affairs. Gustavus insulted the emperor of Russia by refusing, during several days, a passage to his troops across a narrow neck of land scarcely an English mile in breadth; a short time previous to this denial of a passage to the Russian army, he had offered *to sell* to the emperor of Russia, for seven millions of dollars, the whole of the territory that remained to Sweden of the German conquests, made by the GREAT Gustavus Adolphus!

The ill-timed pertinacity of this intractable king in holding possession of Läuenburg, aggravated the miseries to which Hanover already stood exposed. The Prussian army surrounded the handful of Swedes, whom Gustavus had left: the Swedes dared to fire, and the Prussians, seeing them preparing to attempt to force a passage, with true grandeur of sentiment, opened their ranks, and paying them military honors, suffered them to pass unmolested. The Prussian soldiers had made prize of two dragoon horses, which their commander ordered to be returned; but the rude and sullen monarch ordered them to be re-

turned, insisting on considering the animals as *prisoners of war!* Nothing mortified the king of Sweden so thoroughly as the compassion, or rather the contempt with which he felt himself treated by the king of Prussia; in revenge for which, Gustavus ordered his ships of war to capture the ships of Prussia, blockade his ports, and he was so vindictive as to cause the defenceless towns on the coasts of the Baltic, to be bombarded, unless a sum of money was paid to procure an exemption! Disgusted with his follies, disheartened by the losses those follies had occasioned, his subjects imputed those predatory acts of vengeance to the lessons he had gained from his alliance with Great Britain; but the naval blockades gave serious umbrage to the latter power, whose commerce it diminished.

The senate of Hamburg was desirous that the correspondence between Count Löwenhjelm and the Prussian commander, should not be published in the Hamburg Correspondent: irritated beyond measure at a line of conduct that was prudent and becoming, the monarch threatened to march his army into the city, upon which the senate yielded.

This enmity towards Prussia lasted till France and Prussia were at variance; the king of Sweden then recalled his troops, raised the blockade, and set the Prussian ships at liberty: in so far he acted with justice and dignity.

Towards autumn, Gustavus returned to his Swedish territories, as inveterate as ever against

France, whence he recalled all his subjects. The hope he had conceived from the hostilities that existed between France and Prussia, were annihilated by the terrible misfortunes that rapidly destroyed the Prussian armies, and gave the capital and most of the provinces over to the conqueror. In this critical state of affairs, a wiser monarch might have been perplexed.

The first impulse of Gustavus was to transport his army to Pomerania, and take the field in person against the French; but, *discretion,* the better half of courage, prevailed over rashness, and he abandoned that warlike design, and the few Swedes left at Läuenburg were captured at Lubec. Bonaparte always seemed desirous of sparing this monarch; he even offered an increase of territory as the recompence of remaining at peace, which the Swedish nation so greatly required, but the personal antipathy of Gustavus against the emperor of the French, was the cause of his rejecting the overture.

Finding every attempt useless to appease or intimidate the bewildered king, Napoleon still paused before he attacked Sweden; meantime Gustavus ordered his army to Scania, where he expected the storm would alight. Though terrified when danger was near, Gustavus grew bold as it receded; and when he looked at the fine army assembled on the shores of the Baltic, his valorous heart once more panted to measure swords with Bonaparte. He determined to transport his army

to Rugen; money being scarce, and Great Britain not over ready in offering him a subsidy, Gustavus seized upon 375,000 silver dollars that had been forwarded by the cabinet of St. James's, and were intended for the emperor of Russia.

The ill fortune of Prussia humbled her monarch to that degree, he supplicated relief from the king of Sweden, in consequence of which negociations were begun; and when Marshal Mortier retired towards Prussia, his rear-guard was attacked by the Swedes, and the French hospital taken; even then suspicions of his fidelity attached to Mortier, who, alarmed by this event, suddenly raised the siege of Colberg, repulsed the Swedes, and cut off a part of the troops, and compelled the main body to fall back upon Pomerania. Count D'Essen, the governor of Pomerania, had the good fortune to be able to arrest the torrent of ruin that menaced the Swedish army, and concluded an armistice with Marshal Mortier at Schlatkow, which was signed on the 18th April, 1807.*

The armistice that probably saved the Swedish army from destruction, offended England, Russia,

* The conduct of Gustavus, as a general, excited derision and contempt. If *cowardice* be a disease, he that is troubled with it should never ape the mien of a hero. This weakness belonged to the unfortunate monarch in question, whose temper was so violent, and his judgment so weak, that General Count D'Essen said to him—"*Sire, I must resign! It is impossible for an honest man to serve you.*"

and Prussia; Gustavus was also displeased because of the titles "*Emperor and King.*" To pacify the Swedish monarch, Napoleon permitted him to ratify the armistice without acknowledging the imperial title: yet, long previous to this period, the French emperor was in possession of the facts already recited that went to prove the *illegitimacy* of the king, considered as the son of Gustavus the Third! Napoleon seemed to cherish a greater respect towards the Swedes than any other northern nation, and for the sake of a brave and generous people, he had the magnanimity to spare their weak, unhappy king. The limits of this last division of the work precludes the insertion of all the great and important errors he committed; the most criminal of which was, his open and solemn declaration that he was not at war for any Swedish object, but exclusively for the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France; which the king flattered himself might be attained with a force reduced by combat, disease, want, and hardships to about 6,000 troops, exclusive of 4,000 foreign auxiliaries.

Marshal Mortier was removed from his command, and Marshal Brune succeeded him. The very remarkable conversation between the king of Sweden and Marshal Brune, is the most creditable proof of talent extant, but, its authenticity has been doubted, and what can be said of the morals of a prince endeavouring to seduce the soldier of another monarch? Gustavus stands self-convicted

of having violated the law of honor in thus taking advantage of an interview granted at his own solicitation, and apparently for a very different purpose.

The great powers turned their attention towards peace: the king of Prussia proposed Copenhagen as the seat of the negociation. Upon this being made known to the king, he exclaimed with every mark of rage, *Yes! I'll send a minister to the meeting, but it will be to announce that I never will negociate with Bonaparte!* The result of the campaign in Poland enabled the conqueror to dictate the terms of peace on the field of battle, but still, no impression could be made upon the stubborn mind of Gustavus the Fourth. It is scarcely credible, that after the terms of the armistice with Poland were known, that he proposed to the Russian ministry, to land 50,000 Russians, English, and Swedes, upon the coasts of France, with Louis the Eighteenth at their head. The treaty of Tilsit dissipated these illusions. We have seen this king guilty of momentous errors, and fatal follies: he was now, in revenge of this treaty, cruelly and treacherously resolved to sacrifice the Prussians then in Pomerania! Concealing the intelligence he had received of the disastrous events that had occurred in Poland, on the night between the 10th and 11th of July, he ordered the Prussians to *fire* on the French; an act that might, and very probably would, have led to the complete destruction of the Swedes

and Prussians. It is to be hoped these gross derelictions from moral rectitude, flowed from disordered intellect, which is so frequently evinced by actions peculiarly wicked and malignant. Being disappointed in this project, the unhappy king strove all he could to retard the departure of the Prussians; refusing them permission to take provisions from their own magazines; thereby compelling them to suffer famine, or to plunder for subsistence.

Instead of availing himself of the invitation sent him by the Emperor Alexander and the king of Prussia, to negociate a peace with the emperor of the French, Gustavus entered into a new subsidiary alliance with Great Britain, which was signed on the 23d of June; in consequence of which, hostilities commenced in good earnest. On the morning of the 13th of July, a report arrived at the Swedish head-quarters, that the passage of Damgarten was forced. Although this event might have been foreseen, it threw Gustavus into the utmost perplexity and confusion, who issued the most absurd and contradictory orders. Within the short space of twenty-four hours, the adjutant-general for the day was changed three times! The advanced posts, which had been driven in by a far superior enemy, were ordered to re-advance and occupy their former positions! Nothing but native valour, and some fortunate casualities, saved the whole army from being cut off, which succeeded in reaching Stralsund, but not before the king, who was *the first of the fleeing*

*fugitives that entered its gates!* During this disorderly retreat the terrified monarch sent to Marshal Brune, proposing an armistice.—"*What,*" said the marshal, "*is it not rather premature for a descendant of Charles the Twelfth to solicit a truce before the war is thirty-six hours old?*"

The Swedish soldiers, remembering the rash valour of Gustavus the Third, were secretly disgusted by the *precautions* taken by his successor *to shield his royal person,* even from the possibility of danger. On this occasion all hopes of acquiring his military renown, vanished, and the Swedish officers and privates blushed at his pusillanimity. Aware of the disgust created by this infirmity, Gustavus pretended he had received a contusion in the leg from a musket ball: he exhibited a *red spot* on the skin, and his *boot,* it was said, would not receive the usual polish; and an obsequious surgeon, who wished to make his fortune, attempted to give currency to the fabrication; but the thing would not do, and it was quietly abandoned.

The French had hitherto spared the country; but their progress was now marked by devastation. From the walls of Stralsund their army was seen destroying the standing corn. It was evident that the place could not sustain a siege of long duration, and nothing appeared before the eyes of the garrison but death or perpetual captivity. Napoleon made one more fruitless attempt to detach the king of Sweden from his weak and ruinous projects, and Colonel Engelbrecht was

sent to him with a letter expressing the wish of Napoleon to receive an overture for peace, and to assure Gustavus that the French emperor had no design to diminish his territories. The infatuated monarch, as if blindly determined to entail ruin upon himself and Sweden, repeated his determination to pursue interminable war, and, at every risk, effect the restoration of the Bourbons!

The governor of Pomerania, Count D'Essen, strove to awaken in the king the feelings of a husband and a father, by representing the destruction he must inevitably bring on his own head, and upon his kingdom, if he persevered; and it being *impossible* to save Pomerania, he advised its surrender to the duke of Mecklenburg: this wise counsel the king peremptorily refused, and appeared sullen and immoveable. The governor-general said to him, "*Sire, I lament the calamities I cannot avert; and I regret to say that your majesty renders it impossible for Swedish valour or fidelity to be of any service to their country.*"

Pent up as he was in Stralsund, the apparently desperate resolution of the king, might have reminded his subjects of the conduct of Charles the Twelfth, if they had not had occular demonstration of the cowardice of Gustavus the Fourth. At the same moment that this weak and perverse king rejected the admonitions of General Count D'Essen, he neglected to fortify Dänholm, till the enemy, at Andershoff, cannonaded the Swedish gun-boats, and drove them from their moorings.

It was then to be attempted under the guns of the enemy! If Dänholm had been taken, not a living soul could have escaped from Stralsund to Rügen.

The dependence of the king for succour and protection, amidst these hourly accumulating perils, rested not on human but on divine aid. Gustavus was an enthusiastic seeker after divine mysteries; he was incessantly seeking to unravel the things foretold by Daniel, and in the Revelations of St. John. Unfortunately for Gustavus, he had in Germany become acquainted with the writings of a priest named Jung, which was translated into Swedish. Although not addicted to profound study, his greatest felicity now appeared to consist in reading the revelations and Jung's strange commentary: and as mysteries always operate most powerfully on feeble minds, that ridiculous work absorbed all his attention. Some calculators having discovered that the text, the letters which compose the name of the French emperor, also compose in Greek the number 666, which the evangelists say is that of—*the beast.* Gustavus readily persuaded himself that Napoleon was the identical beast foretold in the Revelations, whose reign was to be of short duration, and whose final destruction, by the special providence of God, he was appointed to effect! It was this gross superstition, for folly should not be confounded with religion, which, added to the hatred of the modern French, induced him to shun

all negociations or intercourse with France. He informed the duke of Brunswick that he would have nothing to do with '*the beast*,' "if I were," said he, "I should subscribe to my own perdition both in this world and the next."

The evacuation of Stralsund, the return of the king of Sweden with a dispirited army, and his rejection of the advice of those persons who strove to induce him to make peace with France that he might avoid a war with Russia, are events too well known to need repetition.

In the dreary winter of 1807, when the shores were strewed with wrecks, and the seas for many weeks were agitated by fearful storms, it became necessary to send a minister to represent the British monarchy at Stockholm. The character of the king of Sweden, that about this time began to be well understood in the higher circles, sent the office of envoy to Sweden, begging for acceptance, which it is said was the reason why it fell into the hands of Mr. Edward Thornton,* from which combination of extraordinary contin-

* It was currently reported amongst the higher circles in Sweden, that a near relation of this gentleman received 40,000 *l.* secret service money, for furnishing ministers with a copy of the secret articles of the treaty of Tilsit. In October, 1808, in answer to a question from Mr. Brown, why a person of greater capacity had not been sent to Stockholm, Mr. Perceval replied, "*Ministers are not always able to appoint whom they please.*" An admission that speaks volumes, as to the effects of borough-interest!

gencies originated the elevation of that distinguished diplomatic character.

Mr. Thornton arrived in Sweden time enough to assist at the grand national fête that took place, when the shed which covered the colossal statue of Gustavus the Third* was removed, and that superb work of art exhibited to public view. He found the prevailing sentiments of the nobility and gentry decidedly unfavorable to British politics: his looks and manner were not calculated to conciliate the hostile, nor confirm the friendly; and the gloomy king, at his first interview, received him with as much solemnity as if he had been a physician come to announce the approaching dissolution of his nearest and dearest friend. It was remarked to the author, by the Countess L———, who was present, that the Englishman

* An account of this spectacle may be seen in Sir Robert Ker Porter's Travels in Sweden, &c. The statue is eleven feet high: it is therefore larger than that of the ex-emperor Napoleon, by Canova, which is now placed at Apsley House, the town residence of the duke of Wellington. The inscription, said to have been written by Gustavus the Third, is as follows, viz.

| | In English. |
|---|---|
| ÅT | TO |
| K. GUSTAF III. | K. GUSTAVUS III. |
| LAGTIFTARE. | LAWGIVER. |
| SEGEERWINARE | VICTOR. |
| FREDENS ÅTERSTELLARE | PACIFICATOR. |
| AF | BY |
| STOCKHOLMS BORGERSCHAP, | STOCKHOLM'S CITIZENS, |
| 1790. | 1790. |

seemed very much troubled with his fine embroidered court dress, and scarcely knew what to do with his arms, or which way to look.

When Mr. Thornton had his first public audience of Gustavus the Fourth, he presented Brigadier-General Sir Levet Hanson,* quondam chamberlain to the duke of Modena; a commander, and *grand-cross* of the equestrian order of St. Joachim, &c. &c. &c. This presentation took place just as the march of the Russian troops towards Swedish Finland was officially announced to the unhappy king. Gustavus, who was very seldom cheerful, was this day peculiarly gloomy; and certainly there was nothing in the person or manners of Mr. Thornton to raise his drooping spirits. He stood before the melancholy king more abashed, perhaps, than when he underwent his first public examination at Cambridge, previous to obtaining a degree. His figure and attitude were alike destitute of ease or ele-

* The history of this extraordinary character would, no doubt, be extremely interesting. What his conduct might have been in the early and more active part of his life, the author cannot judge, neither can he elucidate the cause of his spending so great a part of his life in Italy, Germany, France, Denmark, and Sweden; but at the time Mr. B. knew him, *i. e.* 1808, no one could conduct himself in a more gentlemanly manner. His company was much courted; and he was highly respected by all who knew him.

It was this gentleman who invested Admiral Lord Nelson with the *grand cross* of this order: in return, his lordship sent to Mr. Rihls a large silver tobacco-box, inclosing a letter expressive of the gratification he felt on receiving the investiture! This Mr. Rihls was Sir Levet's *man of all work.*

gance. His tremulous accent and doleful visage bespoke a man abashed and confounded; and he uttered a meagre speech in very bad French, and the worst possible style of oratory. The king seemed too abstracted to notice half that he said; and the Countess L—— declared, that if a stranger had seen him in a different place, he might have supposed it was some serving-man, equipped in his master's gala dress, amusing himself by aping the air of a courtier,

Not so with the gentleman whom he led up to the throne;—it was the corpulent, convivial, equestrian knight, Sir Levet Hanson. He was clad in the identical suit, dressed in which, thirty years anterior to this period, he had been presented to the late duke of Modena, as chamberlain of that small, but polished court. Of course, from the mere lapse of time, those once superb garments were much deteriorated. The ground was blue, the embroidery silver; the lace was much tarnished; but then any one might see the suit had been made to measure, for in the duchy of Modena there probably was not another who could have worn them. His features were small, his face round; complexion very fair; his hair light red; but his small features were buried in a load of additional flesh, and he was grown so very corpulent, that, if laid on his back, he would have cast a shadow as long as if standing erect. If his figure was uncourtly and unwieldly, his carriage was gentlemanly, his manner courteous, and his

countenance prepossessing: in point of learning, taste, and humor, he had few equals; and, perhaps, in all Europe, there was not a gentleman who better understood the due performance of those important duties called *the honors of the table.* It was not his extreme corpulency, nor the key of gold affixed to the button-hole, nor the skirts of his embroidered coat, nor the cordon and the grand cross of the order, worn lozenge ways, that attracted every eye, but his *wig*,—which was certainly *unique.* Its shape, "*if shape it had,*" resembled a porridge-pot; its colour, if ever it were uniform, had undergone a variety of changes, and there was every shade to be found between carroty and scarlet! The hair seemed to resemble that which grows on cows, rather than the spoil of human heads. It was a half sphere; the hair all of a length, and therefore it could not be said to have either a *hind* or *fore* part, and the facetious knight used to say, he could dress himself in the dark, as far as his wig was concerned, without any danger of putting it on awry.

As Mr. Thornton approached the throne, leading his jolly countryman, the absent king seemed to awake as from a dream, and in a moment became self-collected and attentive. Instantly every eye was bent on the two Englishmen, and the *non-descript wig* of Sir Levet. The duchess of Sodermanland (the last queen dowager of Sweden), who was ever '*a laughter-loving dame,*' upon catching a glance of this matchless wig, was seized with

such an inclination to laugh aloud, that she had the greatest difficulty to suppress her inclination; and if she had indulged it, Gustavus would, no doubt, have sent her into perpetual banishment. Sophia Magdalena, the mother of the king, looked earnestly at the duchess, and seeing on what object her sight was fixed, was herself seized with the same merry propensity, which, extending to the ministers and attendants behind the throne, had well nigh caused a burst of laughter throughout the whole court. A greater contrast in the human form could scarcely be imagined than was presented in the person of the king and that of Sir Levet: the former resembled a cylinder of small diameter; the latter a sphere! Within Sir Levet's capacious vest half a dozen such striplings might with ease have been buttoned. After the levee was over, Sir Levet had the honor of a private audience: the king asked him, in German, if he were not the gentleman who had written a letter to him from Hamburg, requesting an account of all the orders of knighthood that had existed, or existed then, in Sweden? Bowing as profoundly as the rotundity of his figure permitted him, Sir Levet answered in the affirmative.—"I replied to your letter," said the king, "and sent you the information required." Sir Levet smiled most graciously, moved his head reverently, and bowed lower than before. "I read your book,"* continued Gustavus,

* A history of all the orders of knighthood in Europe; not forgetting that of *St. Joachim.*

and admired it very much. I am happy to see you at my court, and hope you will enjoy good health, and pass your time agreeably in this northern metropolis." Sir Levet, quite overcome with these extreme condescensions, bowed so low, that having lost his balance, he had nearly prostrated himself at the feet of the king, who, rising to retire, looked, compared with our fat knight, like a greyhound on its hind legs.* From the moment Sir Levet Hanson appeared, his person and perriwig furnished topics of general conversation for *that evening*, at least; and scarcely was he out of hearing, before the royal dames were inquiring of the nobility and pages who the fat gentleman was? whence he came?—and his presentation will be remembered, and occasionally recited, amongst the *memorable* events of court history in Sweden, as long as any of the persons who were then present shall be living.

When the author of these pages arrived at Stockholm, in 1808, he found the most alarming reports in circulation, and a general feeling of apathy and despondency prevailing. The best-informed people felt neither love nor respect towards their monarch, nor confidence in his ministers; domestic trade was at a stand; foreign

* The king's face was singularly formed, and rather narrow and long; some one made a caricature of him, under the figure of a greyhound standing on its hind legs, with its face parallel with its chest. It excited some mirth; as the likeness was strong, it could scarcely be mistaken.

commerce annihilated; the storehouses of the merchants were empty, and their ships of commerce rotting and decaying in harbour. Although the invasion of Finland ought to have been foreseen as the natural result of the line of policy determined upon by Gustavus, the magazines were neither supplied with ammunition nor provisions. In Stockholm, in the space of one month, by the king ordering many articles of the first necessity for the army to be delivered up to the crown, the price of provisions was doubled; brandy was tripled in price; and hay became much dearer than ever it was known in London. Instead of causing the galley fleet of Finland, and the naval magazines, to be removed across the gulf of Bothnia, and deposited in Swedish havens, the king was sufficiently ill advised to suffer the whole to remain, whereby, when the frost set in, they were sure to have been captured or destroyed, if the province should be successfully invaded. By this unaccountable want of foresight, Sweden sustained an irreparable loss of means of defence or offence, and property to the value of more than a million sterling! When the troops composing the army of the west marched into Norway, neither tents, blankets, nor provisions were prepared, and the soldiers, many of them being raw recruits, had no bed but the cold snow; no canopy but a winter's sky. A small share of prudence might have averted the loss of Finland in one short campaign, although its ultimate safety was

not, perhaps, attainable. It was well known at Paris, that Gustavus kept up an active correspondence with Louis the Eighteenth at Mittau. When the Bourbon princes, no doubt most reluctantly on the part of the Emperor Alexander, were expelled from that remote retreat, Gustavus the Fourth gave orders that their chief should be received in Sweden with all the honors paid to a sovereign prince. This certainly was magnanimous, and showed, amidst a fearful maze of errors, that Gustavus was at times master of himself, and capable of acting as became a king.

It was the prevailing opinion of the cultivated and best-informed persons in Stockholm, that, as Europe was then situated,—taking the least of two great evils,—it would have been more prudent for Sweden to have joined the continent than Great Britain. It is true, that in the course of the summer, said they, England may annihilate our commerce and destroy our fleet, yet she is not strong enough to conquer a province, nor to endanger our existence as a nation. Grain might be procured in abundance from the opposite shores of the Baltic; our exports of iron would be very considerable, in defiance of British cruizers; and by hermetically sealing the Baltic ports against British commerce, and by cutting off her usual supply of raw materials for the outfit of her fleets, she will be forced to succumb, and admit the principle of "*free ships, free goods.*"

But the weak and bewildered king neither

strove to preserve peace nor to prepare for the terrible contest that he rashly resolved to brave. There was scarcely a school-boy in Sweden who did not know that the province of Finland was an object that had tempted the cupidity of every sovereign from Peter the Great to Alexander. In a military point of view, it might be said to be *essential* to its safety; and, on that account, according to the principle upon which the Copenhagen expedition was defended, it was lawful and right for the emperor, without declaration of war, without the sound of trumpet or beat of drum, to pounce upon and seize the envied prize! Humbled, though not subdued, by the treaty of Tilsit, the Emperor Alexander was in want of some exploit to put the Russians in good humor, and cover the military defeats that led to that memorable treaty. The conquest of Swedish Finland and its annexation to Russia, of all probable events, was the one most desirable to the emperor; and when opportunity serves, few are the instances in which mighty potentates pay more obedience to the dictates of honor and honesty than to the cruel and selfish dictates of ambition.

It was the duty of the king to have sacrificed his private feelings to the welfare of his subjects: supposing he could not, consistently with his honor, have made peace with France, what line of conduct ought he then to have pursued? General Klingspor, and the best Swedish officers, advised the king, in the summer of 1807, to put strong

garrisons into Sveaborg and the other fortresses; to withdraw the whole of the flotilla, or galley fleet, the ships of commerce, and naval magazines; and, in conjunction with Great Britain, as soon as the waters of the Baltic should be free from ice, to direct one great effort against Cronstadt and Petersburg. Or, if those objects were impracticable, by landing a powerful army in the rear of the invaders, the veteran general strove to shew how the Russians might have been destroyed by detail. This counsel was pressed in vain, verbally and by letter, on the wayward king.

Although Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus fully approved of the British expedition against Copenhagen, and certainly violated the neutrality of Sweden by supplying the besiegers with provisions from Scania, it is certain that ever after he expressed the strongest and most inveterate jealousy of its objects. He kept a large army assembled on the shores opposite to the Sound, not to guard against any sudden attack of Denmark, but of Great Britain! Such are the bitter fruits of tampering with national honor. The object might have been obtained in a less offensive way. Sweden was in greater danger than Great Britain; yet such was the indignation that prevailed, that it was scarcely prudent for an Englishman to own his country. Instead of thanking us for removing so dangerous a neighbour, they execrated our perfidy and cruelty. Admiral Stedingk, in the Stora Societet, declared it would not in the

least have surprised him if Lord Gambier had detached ten sail of the line to Carlscrona, to take the wreck of the Swedish fleet under *British protection*, and *prevent* its falling into the hands of Russia or France!* Whilst the most respectable part of the community of Stockholm reprobated, in the harshest terms, the cruelty of this enterprise, with what bitterness of sarcasm did they not deride our want of firmness in retaining what we had so dearly acquired! They said that we had waded through blood and fire to attain a bad end by worse means; and when the thing was done for which so much obloquy had been braved, the cabinet of St. James's weakly relinquished the occupation of Zealand, the pos-

* The doctrine by which it was attempted to vindicate the bombardment of Copenhagen and the seizure of the Danish fleet, might be cited as sanctioning the most cruel and wanton aggressions, and ought to fill the minor courts of Europe with the most serious apprehensions. Under its ample shade, any great power, in the hour of unruffled peace, may pounce upon the capital of a feeble neighbour, and aver that he did so because the possessor was not strong enough, in case of invasion, to resist the force of another great neighbour. Austria might seize upon Italy, to *prevent* its falling into the hands of France; Prussia might once more seize upon Hanover, *lest* Russia should obtain the possession; and Russia, in case of a war with Great Britain, might require the military occupation of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, to *prevent* their ports or navies from enabling Great Britain to invade Russia! The government of the United States has availed itself of that plea to justify the seizure of West Florida and Amelia Island. Perhaps the day is not very remote when Russia, or the United States, may seize and occupy Sicily, Minorca, and the Azores, upon the same pretext.

session of which would have secured to Great Britain the absolute command of the Baltic, and, in defiance of the continental system, a most extensive and lucrative commerce with Europe.

To gratify the general spirit of hatred against Great Britain that animated the bosom of his subjects, the crown-prince of Denmark readily entered into the plans of Napoleon for the subjugation of Sweden; and in the spring of 1808 a powerful army of French and auxiliary troops arrived in the Danish isles, under the command of the prince of Ponto Corvo. The ice in the Sound was breaking up,—the wind was fair,—the troops were embarking, when an English brig-cutter, which had found means to pass the Belts, appeared before Elsineur! She made signals as if other vessels were in sight; and as the only chance of a successful attempt to land on the shores of Scania depended upon the passage being effected across the Sound before the British fleet could pass the Belts, the sudden and unexpected appearance of this brig-cutter led to the immediate abandonment of the enterprise;—the troops were relanded; and Sweden was thus providentially rescued from foreign conquest. If this invasion had succeeded, Sweden would probably have been partitioned between Russia and Denmark;* and as to the

* "It was firmly believed by all the Swedish gentlemen with whom I conversed on the subject, that at the meeting, at Erfurt, between Bonaparte and the emperor of Russia, it had been agreed upon that Sweden should be divided between Russia and Denmark,

unfortunate king of Sweden, he was to have been shot as soon as the actual landing of the French and auxiliary army in Scania should have been effected. At this time a Russian army, thirty thousand strong, had penetrated far into Swedish Finland, taken possession of the capital, of part of the galley fleets and naval arsenals, causing the destruction of the rest, and formed the siege of Sveaborg; whilst a powerful and well-appointed Danish army was collected in Norway, the command of which was conferred upon Prince Augustenburg, who had married the sister of the crown-prince, the daughter of the unfortunate queen, whose memoirs are given in the first volume.

It was about this period, namely, the middle of April, 1808, that the dethronement of Gustavus the Fourth was conditionally determined upon. The Russian and the French factions were equally ready to effect his removal by the shortest road; but a third party, who had the interest of their country really at heart, and were sincerely desirous to save both their king and country, were for new modelling the government, and adopting the form and spirit of that of Great Britain, avoiding its anomalies,—such as the non-responsibility of the king; the right of declaring war or making peace; and the custom of the commons,

and that the river Motala and the ridge of mountains that run north from it should have been the boundary between those two kingdoms."—Vide Thomson's Travels in Sweden, p. 121.

in each new parliament, *praying for liberty of speech!* Subsequent to the accession of Gustavus the First, commerce had produced a new class of men in Sweden, as rich and well educated as the nobles, namely, the merchants and mine-owners, who were altogether unrepresented in the estates of Sweden.

A revolution of some kind, that should take the reins of government from the feeble hands of Gustavus the Fourth, was admitted to be indispensible by each party; but that party which was for retaining the king, but circumscribing his power, and adopting the most valuable qualities of the British constitution, was the most numerous, wealthy, and intelligent. The principal persons belonging to that party, foresaw, from the stubborn and headstrong disposition of the king, the danger there was of his endeavouring to excite a civil war, or even to call in the Russians to his aid, if he were informed of the intended diminution of the power he had so grossly misapplied. They therefore determined to send some person to the British administration; and if it would agree to receive him, that he should state the melancholy condition to which Sweden was reduced, and the wish of its leading characters (who were inclined to risk their lives and fortunes to save their country), to induce the king to agree to such measures of reform as might give stability to the throne, and restore the freedom of the people.

The author of these pages was the person

selected to introduce the subject by letter to the British cabinet. He was already personally known to Mr. Spencer Perceval, with whom he had had much intercourse relative to the forgery in Great Britain, and by British subjects, of American ships' papers and seamen's certificates; and, more particularly, the absurd and ruinous "*orders in council*," which Mr. Brown ever considered and treated as more likely to strike at the root of our manufactures than seriously to distress the foe. On these subjects Mr. Spencer Perceval, more than once, conferred the honor of asking his opinion; and the almost matchless suavity of manners by which that minister was distinguished, induced Mr. Brown, on the 15th April, 1808, to address the overture in question to that gentleman.

After some previous correspondence, Mr. Spencer Perceval officially agreed to receive Mr. Brown as an accredited agent from the constitutional party in Sweden. At the same time, an application was made to the Emperor Napoleon, to ascertain whether, in case of the dethronement of Gustavus, he would permit the people of Sweden to form an independent government? The reply was short and pithy:—"*The application comes too late. My word is pledged to the crown-prince of Denmark and the emperor of Russia.*"

The amiable and virtuous wife of Gustavus the Fourth strove in vain to prevail upon him to allow her family, whose chief had been raised to the regal dignity by Napoleon, to inter-

cede, and save his throne and the wreck of his dominions. As he sat, gloomy and abstracted, the picture of despair, the queen dropped on her knee, and bathing his hand with tears, implored him to have pity upon her and his children. Nature, for a moment, seemed to move his stubborn heart, and pity to beam from his heavy eyes, but the moment the queen named her brother as the mediator between him and Napoleon, all this gentleness vanished, and yielding to a sudden and terrible gust of passion, he seized the queen by her shoulders, and, dashing her with fury upon the floor, left her senseless to the horrible curses which the frantic man pronounced against her and her nearest and dearest relations.

When the king caused M. Alopeus, the Russian minister, to be arrested, there were found some papers which indicated that attempts had been made to induce General Baron Armfelt to favor the progress of the Russians in Finland, and holding forth the future government of that province as the reward of his treason. This discovery would have opened the eyes of any reasonable being, but the imbecile monarch was so infatuated as to believe the protestations of General Armfelt; and that it was merely a stratagem resorted to by the foe to make his majesty suspect his best and most faithful subjects. The views and interests of Denmark being incompatible with those of Russia, there was not equal danger to be apprehended from entrusting Armfelt with the command of the

army of the west; nor would it be just to assert that the losses and failures which attended the operations of that army originated in the treason or incapacity of that general; more probably the disastrous result which ensued was owing to the personal interference and ignorance of the king; be that as it might, in the summer of 1808, General Baron Armfelt was removed from the command of the western army, and ordered to retire to his estate not far from Stockholm.

In the night between the 5th and 6th of May, 1808, an express arrived at the great palace from Grislehamn, stating that the Russian army stationed in the isles of Åland was in motion, and apparently ready to embark, with a view to land on the Swedish shore. Within an hour, a second messenger arrived, stating that the enemy was landing, and the Cossacs might reach the metropolis early the next morning. It was past midnight when these messengers arrived. The miserable king arose from a sleepless couch, and sent for Counts Ugglas and Fersen: the queen was desired to dress, and prepare for immediate flight. For the first time since his majority, the king caused the Duke of Sodermanland to be summoned to assist by his counsel. The unhappy monarch looked pale as death, and seemed half annihilated by the dismal news. The queen advised her imbecile lord to send a flag of truce to the Russian commander, and demand time to make peace under the mediation of France. The result of this

extraordinary meeting was, that the King constituted his supposed uncle regent of Sweden, and left to him the mournful task, if the Russians approached in force, to procure the best terms he could for the metropolis; and, without waiting for farther events, he resolved to quit Stockholm immediately, proceed to Gothenborg, and embark for England! Whilst preparations were making to carry off as many portable valuables as possible, other expresses arrived, stating that the whole was only a false alarm; that a few straggling Cossacs had indeed arrived on the Swedish territory, and plundered some farm-houses, and that in a heavy fog some objects had been mistaken for a numerous fleet of small vessels, full of troops, being close upon the Swedish shore.* The whole of this, except the landing of a few Cossacs, was a stratagem resorted to by the king's enemies to put his courage to some efficient test. His conduct proved him utterly a coward; and those who were resolved to wrest the sceptre from his hand, and who might, had he been a brave man, have thought him too dangerous to be left alive, were henceforth of opinion that his life might, without any risk, be spared.

At the last anniversary dinner of the Seraphim order, which occurred during the reign of Gustavus the Fourth, he sat pale and melancholy at the

* This affair is alluded to by Mr. James in his entertaining Journal; but it appears he was not acquainted with its powerful effects on the king. Vide Journal, vol. i. p. 337.

splendid board, surrounded by gay and laughing courtiers, who seemed perfectly indifferent to the troubles by which their king was overwhelmed.* Sir Robert Ker Porter has given a correct detail of the ceremonies observed on this occasion in the chapel-royal. It was on this day the king ad-

* A copy of some verses, written on the 28th April, 1808, by the author, in the Ryksal, *i. e.* the Saloon of the States, in the royal palace at Stockholm; occasioned by the heavy depression of spirits manifested by the king whilst dining in state with the knights of the Seraphim order: the news had arrived that morning of the capture of Sveaborg by the Russians.

Ah! whence that death-pale cheek—that cheerless eye,
Where deep despair and anguish seem to reign?
And whence the broken, mournful, frequent sigh,
Which, silent, proves that pomp and pow'r are vain
To shield the aching heart 'gainst rankling care,
Or pluck from out the soul the sting of fell despair?

With thee what mortal shares despotic sway?
What patriot chief thy courses dares to blame?
Supreme art thou! thy people yet obey,
And cringing courtiers adulate thy name.
If boundless pow'r could yield a despot rest,
Thine is that pow'r, whilst sorrow fills thy breast!

Else why, amidst this blaze of regal state,
That tear-fraught eye, that look so full of woe?
Say! dost thou fear some sudden stroke of fate
Shall crush that pow'r, and lay thy greatness low?
Dream'st thou of Eric's fate—a dungeon's gloom,*
And, waking, dread lest such should be thy doom?

* By a singular coincidence of circumstances, immediately after his dethronement, in March, 1809, the king was confined in the same castle that served as a prison for Eric the Fourteenth, namely, Gripsholm.

vanced Chevalier Edlercrantz* to the rank of a commander of the Polar Star, and a grand cross

And where, amidst this gay and glitt'ring train,
Of silk-rob'd, titl'd slaves, seest thou one friend
That bears thee honest love? to ask is vain—
No friend hast thou! each seeks some private end.
Vile ingrates all: careless what comes of thee,
Thy queen and babes, thy life, or sovereignty!—

Despite of all thy artful courtiers' wiles,
Dark fears obtrude and press thy troubled brain;
And rob thine eyes of fire, thy face of smiles,
Thy couch of rest, and rack thy soul with pain.
I mark thy mournful gaze,—thy vacant eye,
And yield thy grief the tribute of a sigh.

Ill fare the priest, whose dark benighted soul
In youth's first dawn taught thee the lust of pow'r;
Taught thee to aim to reign without control,
And on the worthless all thy bounty shower;
Taught thee to wish the flights of thought to bind,
And rivet fetters on the human mind!

There lies thy weakness! from that Stygian spring
Thy people's hate, thy every ill hath flown,—
And each lost day thou reign'st a despot king,
With rapid progress undermines thy throne.
E'en now it totters! ev'ry prop 's unsound,
And deep beneath thee yawns the vast profound.

If thou wert wise, far from thy sight and throne
This horde of abject slaves thou'dst chace away;
Restore thy people's rights to save thy crown,
And o'er a land of freedom bear mild sway;—
Then from thy brows shall care and sorrow flee,
And Sweden flourish,—happy, great and free!

* This ingenious, tasteful, and scientific nobleman built a mill in Stockholm, near Nya Kongsholm Bridge, on the margin of the

of the order of the Sword. When Gustavus embarked for Finland, that accomplished nobleman was appointed one of the regency. Shortly after this important addition to his former and decisive proof of confidence on the part of the king, Mr. Brown called on him, being anxious, previous to his leaving Stockholm, as far as was attainable, to ascertain his sentiments respecting the present situation and future prospects of his afflicted country. He met with the chevalier at his mill, and they had a long, and, to Mr. B. a most interesting conversation, sitting in the engine room. Far from shrinking, the chevalier readily entered upon the subject of domestic and foreign politics. He made some apt allusions to the fable of the giant and the warlike dwarf; and seemed to consider that Sweden was fighting the battles of England rather than her own. He said it was much to be regretted that Sweden could not be left at peace; and that he had not the least hope that the Russians could be driven out of Finland, or induced to give it up at a general peace.

Mälar lake, which was worked by a steam-engine, erected by a Mr. Murray, of Leeds. Mr. Brown visited this mill several times, the machinery of which was not only most curiously contrived, but the edifice commanded a noble view of the city and surrounding lakes and forests. On one of these visits, when he was accompanied by his kind and revered friend Alexander Hambré, Esq. and the Chevalier Geyer, a conversation took place relative to the engine, whose power was great, but whose action was so even and steady that it made scarcely any noise.

Mr. B. observed to him, how very gloomy the king appeared on the festival day of the Seraphim order. Looking him expressively in the face, the chevalier, in a softened tone, said, "And had the king not ample cause to look gloomy? One-third of his dominions are already conquered,—commerce at a stand,—the finances in the utmost disorder,—and at war with all Europe?" Mr. B. admitting the correctness of the portrait drawn by the chevalier, stated it as a great misfortune that the king was so inveterately addicted to arbitrary government; and expressed his sorrow that, instead of conciliating his people, he seemed alone to aim at asserting his own absolute power. To the latter part of these remarks the chevalier made no reply. After a short pause, he said, "Our king is not popular; I regret to say it: but of one thing be assured, that no monarch was ever animated by better intentions. He is accessible to the meanest of his subjects; he will patiently listen to their complaints, redress their wrongs, and administer to their wants. He is the decided enemy to feudal oppression. Whilst, in your country, the rich and powerful land-monopolists are ejecting the laboring peasant from the commons, and even from strips of land by the highway side; whilst the aristocracy of wealth, in England, is rapidly extirpating the useful race of yeomen, by adding farm to farm, and leaving not a foot of earth to the laborer; whilst misery and vice have

obtruded into your villages,—our king acts on a patriarchal principle. He proves the benevolence of his heart, and the purity of his views. He is a zealous friend to the peasantry of Sweden and Finland; he is anxious to relieve them from the poverty that results from feudal bondage; he wishes to create in Sweden a race of prosperous, sturdy peasants, such as England had a century since, but has no more. Our king is the general patron of agricultural improvements; and he is desirous to cherish and protect the active possessors of small farms; and determined to prevent the great land proprietors from oppressing their dependents."

"In Finland," continued the chevalier, "scarcely thirty years since, *one-third* of the corn consumed by the inhabitants was imported from Sweden, or other countries. At the present day, it grows not only sufficient corn for its consumption, but has, of late years, supplied Sweden with a quantity equal to what was formerly imported thence. The consequence is, that the farmers are becoming comparatively rich: and all this, I can assure you, Sir, is, to a very great extent, owing to the personal feelings and influence of the king. His majesty readily grants very long and advantageous leases, with the right of renewal upon the payment of very light premiums; and, instead of the farmers living pent up in villages, distant from their lands, he gives encouragement to those who

go to reside in the midst of their fields. Whenever he grants permission to the affluent to inclose commons, surveyors are appointed and paid by the crown to make a fair and equitable division; reserving one acre in ten of the soil, and that of the most productive kind, *for the cottagers*. The great owners are compelled to erect a cabin to each portion of land, and, in case of extreme poverty, the next farmer who possesses a certain quantity of land is compelled to find seed, and till that portion for his poor neighbour. Such is the wise and benevolent system upon which our monarch acts in every province of his kingdom. As the anxiety of the king to protect the just rights of the laboring agriculturalist takes away part of the soil which avarice would fain engross to itself, the rich capitalists are hostile to the king; but ought a monarch, who acts thus beneficently, to be decried and run down by clamour?" Mr. B. readily asserted, that these were actions worthy of an Alfred, or a Henry the Fourth. "Well then, Mr. B—," said the graceful and animated orator, "you cannot regard him as a worthless monarch who has a heart capable of feeling such commiseration for the poorest class of his subjects, and of making so many personal sacrifices to improve their condition? Look at the estates of Baron Von P—n, on the shores of the Vennern lake, and see what vast improvements every where meet your eye; mark his ample buildings, his numerous herds,

his fertile fields, and you will see a farm adequate to some of the largest and best cultivated in England. Go next amongst his tenantry, and you will find them poor, dejected, and dishonest, borne down by feudal servitude, that is exacted with the utmost rigor, and pining in want and nakedness amidst the paradise created by their toil. That nobleman, Sir, as you well know, *is a patriot!* Go next to the king's tenants, and the tenantry of the crown. It is true you will see no such improvements, neither will your heart be affected by that wretchedness and despondency which prevails amongst the farmers and laborers, the wretched vassals at Baron Von P—'s. Under the king's mild protection, the industrious farmer enjoys all the fruit of his labors." Mr. B— expressed the unfeigned pleasure this recital gave him. He next felt the pulse of the chevalier as to the happy effects which might result to Sweden, if a constitution such as that of Great Britain, in its days of pristine purity, were established in Sweden.—"*Pristine purity!*" what do you mean by that phrase?" exclaimed the chevalier; "you have travelled enough in Sweden to understand the condition of our farmers, the wealthiest of whom do not enjoy as much of the luxuries of life as your rack-renters in England, whose farms are of the yearly value of a hundred pounds. Yet our farmers are better informed, and have more comforts within their reach, than your farmers had when first your parliaments were assembled

If you go back to the practice of the days of '*pristine purity*,' you must fill your House of Commons with *illiterate farmers*, who can neither write nor read! Our *bonder stand* (peasants), are *now* what your peasants were two centuries since. Would you wish to see such characters sitting as legislators in your House of Commons?" Mr. Brown explained, that what he meant by *pristine purity* was, annual parliaments and the right of election commensurate with direct taxation. The chevalier smiled, and observed, that in the sixth century, the laws, language, and the arms stamped on English coins, were the same as prevailed in Sweden. "Those whom you improperly called Saxons," said he, "were Goths, or Belgic Gauls. They carried from our forests those institutions that have raised your country to its present greatness. The freemen who possessed land were admitted to the annual assembly called *Wittegemots;* but the object for which those assemblies were convened was previously prescribed, and when that was decided upon, they dispersed and returned to their homes. I do not say this out of disrespect towards your system of government, because experience has proved its superior excellencies; and I should most sincerely rejoice to see the king propose it as a model to be immediately adopted by the estates of Sweden, avoiding its present anomalies which commerce and luxury have caused" As Mr. B— listened to these liberal sentiments, he

mentally asked himself how the weak and bigoted king came to appoint so enlightened a nobleman as a member of the regency?—And he now inserts these conversations with the view to render justice to the unhappy king to whose memoirs they relate.

A delay of six weeks occurred before Mr. Brown embarked for England, during which time he had many interviews with the Swedish nobleman before alluded to. He was instructed to defend the projected dethronement of Gustavus the Fourth on two distinct grounds, namely, incapacity and *illegitimacy*: of the first allegation, the proofs were numerous and legible: relative to the latter, they authorised Mr. Brown to state, that they were in possession of legal proofs, which should be produced if the British ministers consented to receive the Swedish gentlemen who would have gone to London, on Mr. Brown's return to Sweden, to have brought the negociation to a close. He was also told that a confidential person was already sent to France; and the answer which arrived first, if it was favorable, would be immediately accepted, as the critical state in which Sweden stood admitted not of delay. It was, however, quite evident how much they would have preferred a British connexion, by their authorising their agent to state, that if the British ministers agreed to mediate between the king of Sweden and his people; and if he should prove intractable, and leave them no remedy but

his dethronement, that they would engage to carry the election of the DUKE of GLOSTER as crown-prince of Sweden, to succeed the Duke of Sodermanland, whose pretensions to the crown no one seemed inclined to dispute. At the same time that this mark of respect towards the illustrious individual and the British nation was mentioned, the agent was enjoined not to name it, except he should see a friendly disposition exisiting in the cabinet ministers, *with whom alone* he was to treat, and unless they should agree to receive delegates from Sweden.

Upon his first interview with Mr. Spencer Perceval, that gentleman told Mr. Brown, if, during the discussions that might ensue, any thing should be communicated which showed any design hostile to the personal safety of the king, he (Mr. Perceval) should consider it his duty to put the king of Sweden upon his guard against such individuals. In reply, Mr. Brown told the minister that those who had sent him were as incapable of becoming assassins as himself; but, for their safety, he should not mention the name of any individual concerned. Mr. Perceval saw at once the difficulty in which he had placed himself, and that, by an over-anxious zeal for the safety of the king, he had shut the door against those communications by which his object might have been better attained.

Several interviews took place between the agent of the Swedes and Messrs. Perceval and

Canning. Mr. Perceval acknowledged that the report of the illegitimacy of the king* had reached him from other quarters. Mr. Canning was less communicative; but when Mr. Brown affirmed that the illegitimacy of the birth could be proved by legal evidence, and that, if they pleased to permit two delegates to treat with them, they should be put into possession of those proofs, he remained silent, not offering a syllable by way of dissent. It was not till the 11th of November, that the negociation closed; and then the overture was declined in a written reply, that stated "*the delicacy and importance of the overture, which ever way it terminated,*" as the cause of the delay which had occurred. At the same time, those statesmen who had adopted the bold and decisive expedient that put the Danish fleet into the power of Great Britain, had less pretensions than any of their

* The late WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MILES, Esq. in a letter addressed to the author, in the autumn of 1809, asserted, that in the year 1792, he was informed that the crown-prince of Sweden was not the son of Gustavus the Third, and that he had communicated both the report and the source whence he derived his knowledge to the Right Honourable Mr. William Pitt. This gentleman died within the last year at Paris. He was unquestionably a man of superior talents, and possessed, by his extensive acquaintance with statesmen and men of letters, an immense fund of information. He had by him a MS. history of the revolutionary wars, in which, or in some other posthumous work, this assertion of the author may, probably, be confirmed. Mr. Miles said he had communicated the fact in question to the earl of Moira, and other distinguished public characters.

predecessors to delicacy of sentiment, or regard to the mild and humane dictates inculcated by the law of nations.

It was January before the official answer given by Messrs. Perceval and Canning was received at Stockholm. The state of affairs at that period is portrayed in vivid colours in the extracts that follow,* taken from a work published at

* If it be allowed that the end of every government is, or ought to be, the happiness and prosperity of the governed, it is also evident that when any government, from vice or incapacity, endangers the existence of society, it no longer answers the end of its institution. In such unfortunate circumstances, there is no longer any choice left to the people, than either to forbear to take any interest in the welfare of the country, or to renounce their allegiance to their oppressor. That which, in the common course of human events, would be highly criminal, becomes the most sacred duty; what, under other circumstances, would be a violation of the law, is now done for the preservation of the law itself; which, with the form of government, support the existence of society. Fortunately for humanity, such events seldom occur; and, perhaps, Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus is a singular example of a king, who so little regarded his own honour or advantage, or the prosperity of his country, that he did not even endeavour to conceal from himself the inevitable consequences of a system from which he had every thing to fear and nothing to hope.

Those who, possessing an intimate knowlege of the king's disposition, with a sound judgment of the political situation of Europe, foresaw the misfortunes which followed. Even then, had a revolution been effected, a

Stockholm to vindicate the revolution. It will be perceived; by the statements contained in that demi-official work,* that it was not till *after* the official reply in question had reached the capital

conviction of its necessity would have justified the measure, and the people would have been well able to distinguish patriotism from ambition. Affection towards the king is a feeling as natural to the Swedes, as hatred to a corrupt and venal aristocracy; the personal misconduct of the king was commonly ascribed to the incapacity of his ministers. The great political mistakes of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus were little known to the Swedish people: all the sources of political information were stopped. The importation of foreign books and journals was, in general, prohibited; those which were permitted to enter the country were severely examined; and the liberty of the press was entirely annihilated. Through these, and other means, public opinion *was yet in favour of the king*. Even the losses sustained in the commencement of the war, far from disheartening, rather fired the courage and roused the resentment of the people; and the consequences of this animation were soon evident in the successes of the army. But towards the autumn of 1808, the opinions of men began to change.† During the summer, all the energies of the nation were called forth and exerted to the utmost; and then suffered either to remain

* Vide an Historical Sketch of the Last of the Reign of Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus.

† The king had, many years before, incurred the dislike and contempt of his people; from the moment he resolved to brave the power of Russia, France, and Denmark, he was given up as a lost prince by the most enlightened and respectable portion of the nation.

of Sweden that any serious attempt was made to bring about the dethronement of the king; for the Swedes who were privy to Mr. Brown's mission, construed the delay that took place favorably to

inactive, or were employed in the most injudicious enterprizes. It now became evident, that the *personal hatred* of Gustavus the Fourth towards the French emperor was the only cause of the war; and there was little reason to hope for the termination of either the cause or the effect. The soldiers began to dislike and despise a king, who expected impossibilities from them, while he declined sharing in the toils and perils that he imposed. Some acts of injustice irritated individuals, and the treatment of the new levies excited the resentment and compassion of the people at large. Many patriotic men expressed their conviction* that the time was now come when a revolution was absolutely necessary to save their country; but they suffered themselves to be persuaded that it would yet be premature†. It was hoped that the loss of Finland would abate the king's ardor for war; that he would himself be convinced of his error, and at last permit his dismembered country to enjoy a necessary repose. But such hopes were without a foundation; preparations were made for another campaign, and the most absurd plans of operation were proposed. The most alarming reports of the intended partition of Sweden began to prevail, but made no alteration in the king's conduct; the imminent danger

* Many, very many, individuals were desirous he should *never* have ascended the throne; and when he avowed himself *the champion* of the Bourbons, his dethronement was seriously contemplated.

† Those persons, or they by whom those were influenced, were waiting the result of Mr. Brown's mission to the cabinet of St. James's.

their wishes; and when the official letter reached them, announcing the refusal of the British government to receive any delegates or assign any opinion as to the Swedish overture, further

exalted in every man's bosom the love of his country; and it now became the duty of every good citizen to endeavour to save what yet remained of the ancient independence of Sweden, and to withdraw allegiance from a king who despised the welfare of his people.

It were needless to enumerate the many different schemes of revolution which were proposed on different occasions; it will be sufficient to mention those which were not only determined upon, but almost accomplished. It is necessary to premise that the most zealous actors in this great enterprise were in Stockholm;* in that capital it was resolved that the revolution should commence, and be supported, according to circumstances, by the army.

After tedious and ineffectual consultations, which, under a more vigilant government, would have forfeited the lives of those individuals, the zeal and ardor necessary for such an enterprise seemed to suffer some abatement. While things were in this situation, an officer of high rank, in the disguise of a servant to his own adjutant, arrived in Stockholm, from the north, with the intention of hastening the revolution, while Åland might yet be saved. This officer found in the capital from *seventeen* to *twenty*† *persons* anxious to save their country

* This is an unquestionable truth; but thousands in the provinces were equally eager to second the enterprize.

† The author might have safely said, there were as *many thousands;* but it was an object, and a principal one, with the *new government* to create an opinion that the revolution was the result of a sudden impulse, and not of deliberation and design.

than stating that '*it had been received*,' there was no time for deliberation:—the Russians were preparing to invade Sweden from Åland, and also from Nya Carleby; the Danes had passed the

from the impending danger, but not agreed upon the time proper for the attempt.* With much difficulty this officer reconciled the discordant opinions; and the 8th of February was, at last, appointed. But one of the patriots, who, by his knowledge and experience, possessed the confidence of the rest, insisted that it was too early a day, and could not be persuaded to alter his opinion. It was, nevertheless, resolved, on the evening of the *sixth*, that the king should be arrested on the *eighth*. The spot chosen for this purpose was opposite to a tavern, in the street† through which the king usually passed, a *little* after two in the afternoon, on his way from the palace at Stockholm to Haga, where, even in winter, he generally resided, from a disgust which he had conceived for the capital. This intention was concealed from the person who had objected to so early a day, but it was agreed to abide by his advice in every subsequent transaction.

Just at this crisis, an officer arrived from the western army to the leaders of the revolution in Stockholm. All was now prepared, and the different parts in this great drama were assigned to proper actors. The king was to be conveyed to the fortress of Vaxholm,‡ the garrison of which was to be relieved by a part of the guards from

* This looks much like cowardice on the part of .....

† The tavern is called Mon Bijoux, situated on the right hand side of Drottning Gatan.

‡ Vaxholm, in English generally spelt Waxholm, is situated upon the S. shore of the Mälar, a few miles from Stockholm.

Swedish frontiers, had penetrated into Wermerland, and were in a state to menace the capital, or Gothenborg. Under the pressure of these melancholy circumstances there remained no other

Stockholm. A solemn oath was to be taken that nothing should be attempted against the life of the king,* but that every respect should be paid him consistent with safety and prudence. The regiment of cuirassier life-guards was informed of the projected revolution, and prepared to assist at its execution. When the king had been arrested, one of the principal leaders of the revolution, accompanied by a military force, was to go to receive the orders of the duke of Sudermania; whilst others, of the highest authority, should endeavour, in the name of their country, *to persuade* that prince to accept the government, with the title of administrator, till the states of Sweden could be assembled. In the mean time, it was agreed that no meetings should be held, nor conversations take place, that might betray this plan; but that each should punctually attend to the part assigned to him, and wait in silence the moment of action.

But on the 8th of February, a little before the appointed time, most of the patriotic band assembled, to consult the person who thought the attempt premature. He now violently protested against it; the plot seemed to be relinquished, the agents discouraged and dispersed, and most of the necessary preparations were forgotten and neglected. The moment of appointed action was at

* This condition was acceded to previous to Mr. Brown writing to Mr. Spencer Perceval, in April, 1808; about which period a contrary intention was manifested; and had the prince of Ponte Corvo landed in Scania, as was expected, it had been carried into effect.

or better alternative than to make a truce with the Danes; to obtain which it became necessary that the principal personages who meditated the dethronement of the king, and the expulsion of his

hand, but although *many** were ready, with undaunted courage, to hazard all for the deliverance of their country, no beneficial result could be expected from their uncombined efforts. After many fruitless endeavours to reassemble the party, a letter† was dispatched to the western army, with intelligence that the plan for effecting a revolution was abandoned at Stockholm. The unexpected concurrence of some auspicious events; the unshaken firmness of the western army; and the imprudent conduct of the king, who seemed to act as though he were infatuated, and bent on accelerating his own ruin, whereby he compelled the patriots, at the very last moment, to hazard an enterprise which terminated in the deliverance of Sweden.

It may be alleged, that although the necessity of a revolution was already evident to the more enlightened part of the Swedes, yet that the loss of Åland, and the danger that threatened Stockholm, had not yet impressed such a conviction on the nation at large; and, therefore, that the general assent to such a measure was not to be expected. But it is unquestionably true, that political circumstances were at that time infinitely more favorable to the execution of such an enterprise than they were at

* If this portion of this interesting recital be strictly examined, many contradictory assertions will be discovered: a proof that it had something else besides truth for its object.

† This is a very *improbable* circumstance, unless it was written in cypher; most probably some confidential person was sent to the army, to make a verbal communication.

family, should agree to elect the Prince of Augustenburg* crown-prince, at a diet that was to be assembled immediately the king should have been dethroned.† Such was the source of the election

a later period. Had the king, on the 12th of March, been allowed to leave Stockholm, and to have travelled to the south of Sweden, it is probable that the army would

* The next presentation was to the duke and duchess of Augustenburg; the latter is the daughter of the unfortunate Matilda, and sister to the crown-prince: she is a woman of understanding and great merit; a pattern of virtue and conjugal fidelity, and generally esteemed by those whom she honors with her confidence and acquaintance. Vide Wolff—Northern Tour, p. 96.

† Herein lay the true source of the election of that prince, whose untimely death was the result, for nothing will ever reconcile the Swedes to be ruled by a Danish prince, to get rid of whom recourse was had to *poison*. When the obstacle was thus removed, *and not before*, application was made to the Emperor Napoleon, strongly urging him to nominate one of his family as crown-prince; and the author has recently been assured that Prince Eugene Beauharnois was applied to, who graciously declined the proffered honor. When Marshal Bernadotte commanded in Hanover, he conducted himself with such propriety that he gained universal esteem. A Swedish colonel, descended from an ancient Scottish family, and who became acquainted with the marshal at Paris, was the first person who communicated with him as to his election as crown-prince of Sweden. After the crown of Sweden had been offered to the then imperial family of France, the will of the emperor was consulted respecting the election of the prince of Ponte Corvo; who, convinced by the melancholy fate of the late crown-prince, that the Swedes would not submit to be ruled by a Dane, consented, *but not readily*, to the election of this prince, who had previously gained the esteem of many Swedish officers. Such is said to have been the real source of the election of the present king of Sweden as crown-prince. It would be ridiculous

of this prince; who was indebted to Napoleon for his election, and to the antipathy of the Swedes for his death.

Soon after his dethronement, the king was

have submitted to his orders,* and the country been irretrievably lost. Before the western army could have arrived for its defence, Stockholm would have been taken by the Russians; and the horrors of a civil war been aggravated by a foreign invasion. Anarchy and terror must have resulted, till the remainder of Sweden had been subdued and divided between her conquerors.†

A great number of people had, by various means, become acquainted with the great political change that was to have been attempted on the 8th of February; the number increased daily; and in every part of the metropolis the impending revolution was the topic of common conversation. The danger and difficulty of the enterprise was increased by the delay that had taken place; but it furnishes an incontrovertible and striking proof of the lone and desolate condition to which the improper conduct of Gustavus the Fourth, and the detestation in which his government was held, that, of the multitude of persons who were informed of the designs against his person and authority, not one solitary individual was there who felt attachment or interest enough in his fate to warn him of his danger. It cannot be doubted, that amongst those

to suppose that Napoleon was not consulted, and his consent obtained, previous to the nomination; the strange events that have ensued, prove this consent to have been one of the great errors committed by Bonaparte.

* The western army was ripe for mutiny as early as August, 1808.

† Russia might have suffered Denmark to have taken possession of a portion of the spoil, but only as a tenant *during pleasure.*

conveyed to Gripsholm palace, which formed a part of the patrimonial possessions of the great founder of the Wasa dynasty, and afterwards became the prison of several deposed sovereigns.

concerned in the revolution were some who only consulted their own interest; nor can the suspicion be concealed, that some one might exist, who, favoured by a foreign power, aspired to build his fortune on the ruins of his country. It is not unreasonable to ascribe that treacherous intention to a plan that was proposed, to effect a change in the government, with the interference of the army, by the sudden and simultaneous resignation of the great officers of state. The slightest knowledge of the disposition of Gustavus the Fourth must have been convincing, that such a measure would not have subdued the inflexible determination of the king *to continue the war*, whilst it was sure to have occasioned a complete dissolution of the frame of government, revived the ancient and deep-rooted prejudices between the higher and the lower orders, and too probably have driven the latter to have sought the *protection* of the foreign armies, which were already prepared for the subjugation of Sweden.

During this awful suspense, the western army did not remain inactive. After mature deliberation, Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre, who, in the former campaign, had commanded as adjutant-general, agreed with the other officers, that, on the 8th of March, the army should break up; and a proclamation was published, informing the nation of the motive and object of their movements, and with the further view of stimulating others, with the hope of yet saving the country. When the army entered Carlstadt, the inhabitants were requested to remain quiet, and the strongest assurances of protection for themselves and property were given. This army was as yet

Whilst he was confined in this palace, he drew a portrait of himself, seated upon a white horse, trampling upon the beast!—The day previous to his voluntary abandonment of his pretensions to

ignorant of the occasion of their sudden decampment, except from surmise; but, as each battalion reached the market-place, Colonel Adlersparre addressed the soldiers, and informed them that the deliverance of their country depended upon the success of the important enterprise in which they were then embarked; and that he came to resume the command, and share the peril. The soldiers received him with enthusiasm; with implicit confidence they trusted to his assertions, and without hesitation promised to defend their country with their lives.

The happy effects of strict discipline, and of mutual confidence between the officers and privates, were never more apparent than on this occasion: during the whole march, not a single man forgot his duty, nor yielded to the strong temptations to disobedience that were afterwards so industriously employed. This army directed its march towards Stockholm, whilst the left wing was detached to occupy Gothenborg. Intelligence of these movements were expedited to the different parts of the west of Sweden and to Stockholm. An agreement was entered into with General Staffelt, who commanded in Norway,* that the Swedish frontiers should not be attacked during the absence of the army;† which, on

* Little did the crown-prince of Denmark think how soon his own kingdom would be rent in two, and a moiety given to Sweden!

† This condition could not have been granted by General Staffelt without the express orders of the King of Denmark, and it is very probable that the Swedes who negociated, promised to elect the *Prince of Augustenburg* crown-prince of Sweden, as the price of this forbearance.

the throne of Sweden, he was visited by his mother, the queen dowager Sophia Magdalena. The meeting must have been truly distressing to the mother and the son, for though Queen Louisa

the 12th of March, entered the city of Örebro, and, on the morning of the 15th, intelligence arrived that the revolution had been effected at Stockholm.

The movements of the army of the west could not long remain unknown in the capital, and a vague report even reached the king, who contented himself with ordering the *police* to enquire into its truth, and a *police officer* was sent to procure further information. On Sunday, the 12th of March, an express arrived with a full account of the proceedings of the western army, and a copy of their proclamation. The king was panic struck. He was then at Haga: in the afternoon he set off for Stockholm. As soon as he entered the palace, the gates were shut; guards were placed at the different entrances of the town, who were commanded strictly to examine every person who entered, and to allow no one to leave Stockholm. In the evening an account of the approach of the western army was sent to all the public offices. The night was passed in expediting the most contradictory orders. All the great officers of state were ordered to repair to Nyköping; the military were about to depart from Stockholm; and one of the *German regiments*, with some artillery, was destined to oppose the western army. Baron Rosenblad, secretary of state, was called from his bed, and ordered to raise as much money as he could by the sale of bills drawn upon England, who, in vain, represented that at such an hour no business of that kind could be transacted. The governors of the bank were ordered to assemble at seven o'clock in the morning; and the proper officers were commanded to use

Ulrica, the mother of Gustavus the Third, was fully persuaded that the child born by Sophia Magdalena was illegitimate, and even the real father was pointed out by name and circum-

every possible effort to collect the greatest attainable number of horses.

The absolute necessity of negociating a peace, and the propriety of assembling the states, had frequently been represented to his majesty; and recently these measures had been more strongly urged by his ministers; but no hopes of accomplishing either of these desirable purposes would have remained had Gustavus been allowed to leave Stockholm. By such a step, the capital would have been left without a government and without protection; and, in the agitated state of the public mind, even the person of the king would not have been in safety. Those who were already deeply engaged in the steps preparatory to the impending revolution, still cherished a hope that this harsh remedy might not be necessary. They thought such a combination of awful calamities might compel the king to conclude a peace, and gratify the wishes of his people. When it was found that he was determined to quit the capital, and persisted in carrying on the war to the last extremity, the long-expected moment seemed arrived for carrying their plans into execution, and, by one desperate effort, to save the country from being overwhelmed by the dangers that threatened it on every side.

The reputation which Baron Adlercreutz had acquired in the last campaign in Finland, pointed him out as the most proper person to lead the way in so dangerous an enterprise, and he readily accepted the post of honor. During the night the baron had a conference with some officers, whom he appointed to meet him at the palace

stance, yet it is very probable that up to this awful moment, the momentous truth was never revealed to him whom it so much concerned. It is therefore reasonable to conclude, that one

in the morning. The baron himself, and several others, were ordered to attend the king at eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th of March.

The unusual circumstance of shutting the gates of the palace occasioned some surprise, even in the lower class of inhabitants, whilst, with those who were in the secret, all was in confusion. General Helvig, master of the ordnance, was commanded, at his peril, to have some artillery ready to follow the king, although there were no horses proper for the purpose to be procured in Stockholm. The regiments in the city were ordered to different places, to be provided with ammunition and provisions; but so short a time were they allowed, that the provisions could not be distributed. Baron Rosenblad was sent to the governors of the bank, to inform them of his Majesty's *desire* to receive part of the money in their care, and to inquire of them if they *supposed* the remainder was in a state of *security?* From this message, the intention of Gustavus to seize on the money in the bank was tolerably palpable; but it became evident, when he afterwards said, "I may as well take the money as leave it for the rebels." To this the governors replied, "that they had received their trust from the states of Sweden, without whose authority they did not conceive themselves at liberty to surrender any part of the property of the bank, nor did they consider that it was in any danger." It was easy to foresee the consequence of this reply; but ere Baron Rosenblad could return to the palace, the revolution was effected.

Baron Adlercreutz, General Count Klingspor, Colonel

object of this melancholy visit paid by this grand-daughter of George the Second, was to unfold this tremendous secret, and by inducing him to sign a voluntary abdication, save her feel-

Silversparre, and many other officers, who were privy to the intended revolution, assembled at eight o'clock in the morning. The baron found, upon inquiry, that only four of the life-guards remained in the palace, the rest being gone to prepare themselves for their march. Little danger could be apprehended from them; and about fifty officers were now in and about the palace, determined to carry their point, or perish in the glorious undertaking.

Gustavus had previously ordered the gates to be shut, and no one was now permitted to leave the palace; officers were stationed in different parts, and a great number in an apartment next to the king's bed-chamber. Count Ugglas* was first called for by Gustavus.

Soon afterwards the duke of Sudermania arrived, who went in just as Count Ugglas came out. Baron Adlercreutz desired the count to stay,† who answered that he had received orders from the king, which he must *immediately execute*. The baron insisted that the count *should remain* where he was, as a moment of infinite importance was at hand; adding, "The king must be prevented from leaving Stockholm!"

Count Ugglas.—"I have already used every effort in my power to no purpose, and I advise you to offer any further remonstrance with great caution."

* If ever a man deserved to have suffered for his criminal advice to this unhappy king, it was this Count Ugglas, to whose councils many of his political misfortunes were owing.

† In all probablity he had been counselling the king to make use of the *German troops* to cut the throats of his subjects.

ings from the torture and ignominy to which a public investigation must inevitably have subjected her. The particulars of this important act, and a copy of the singular letter by which Gusta-

Baron Adlercreutz.—" It is now intended to remonstrate in a way that will be effectual."

Just then the duke of Sudermania left the royal presence, and Count Klingspor was called for. He had an interview with Gustavus, and strongly represented to *the king* the imprudence of leaving his capital. Baron Adlercreutz saw that the decisive moment was arrived. After sending round to those who were posted at the gates, and in various parts of the palace, to be on the alert; and having assembled a number of officers, he entered the king's chamber. When the door opened, the king seemed surprised, and the baron, *who came to dethrone him*, approached, and with a determined air, and a firm and steady voice, but yet in a respectful manner, said, " Sire, *the highest officers of the state, and of the army*, and the most wealthy and respectable of the inhabitants of this capital, have encouraged me to approach you, to remonstrate against your intended departure from this city; and to inform your majesty that the public mind is in the highest state of agitation from the unfortunate aspect of affairs." Gustavus here suddenly interrupted the baron, exclaiming—" *Treason! treason! you are all corrupted, and shall all be punished!*" " We are no traitors, Sire," said the baron, coolly, " but *true and loyal Swedes, who wish to save our country, and your majesty also, from destruction.*" The king instantly drew his sword, and the baron immediately rushed in upon him, and seized him round the waist, while Colonel Silversparre took the sword from the hand of Gustavus, who then vociferated—" *They are*

vus announced his abdication to the Diet, are given below.*

During the tedious confinement which the deposed sovereign endured at Gripsholm palace,

*going to murder me! help! help!*" They endeavoured to re-assure the king, who promised to be tranquil, *if they would return him his sword;* a request they endeavoured to evade; and when Gustavus, forgetful of his fallen estate, proudly *insisted* upon it, the baron gave him to understand that his sword would not be returned to him,

ABDICATION OF THE KING OF SWEDEN.

Stockholm, May 11th.—The members having produced their credentials from their constituents, and the diet being duly constituted, the states proceeded in a body, on the 6th instant, to pay their respects to his royal highness the regent, and to express their grateful acknowledgments for the zeal, activity, and patriotism he had evinced in relinquishing the comforts and tranquillity of a private station, and convoking the grand constitutional assembly of the nation, as the only means of saving the country from impending destruction.

The diet then unanimously passed a vote of thanks to his excellency Count Klingspor, Major-General Adlercreutz, and Lieutenant-Colonel Adlersparre; as also to the subordinate officers, for their spirited and patriotic conduct, at a season of peculiar danger and difficulty. The marshal of the nobles was invited to communicate these resolutions to the house of nobles; which he did, in the presence of deputations from all the states.

On Tuesday, the 9th, his royal highness the regent opened the diet with a speech addressed to the states; in which the lord chancellor read, in an audible voice, a detailed account of the events and circumstances which had rendered the convocation of the states indispensably necessary for the salvation of the country. The mar-

he was afflicted by his uneven temper, and at times so very dejected, that his piteous looks and gestures excited almost as much contempt as pity: he was at times furious, and railed at every

nor himself be suffered *any more* to interfere in the government of Sweden!

The cries of the wretched Gustavus had alarmed some of the body-guard, who were just arrived, and also the servants of the palace, who endeavoured to force open the door, but not being able to succeed, they broke

shal of the diet, and the respective speakers of the clergy, burghers, and peasants, addressed his royal highness in appropriate speeches.

On Wednesday, the 10th, all the members of the states met at an early hour in one assembly, which will ever be remarkable in the annals of Sweden. His royal highness ordered the lord chancellor to read aloud the act of abdication, voluntarily made on the 29th of March, which was to the following tenor:—

"In the name of God, we, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, of the Goths and Vandals, and duke of Schleswick, Holstein, &c. make known, that having been proclaimed king this day seventeen years back, and, with a bleeding heart, ascended a throne stained with the blood of *a beloved and revered father*, we regret our not having been able to promote the true welfare and honor of this ancient realm, inseparable from the happiness of a free and independent people. Now, whereas we are convinced that we cannot any longer continue our royal functions, and preserve tranquillity and order in this kingdom, *therefore we consider it as our sacred duty to abdicate our royal dignity and crown, which we do hereby, free and uncompelled; to pass the remainder of our days in the fear and worship of God; wishing that all our subjects and their descendants may enjoy more happiness and prosperity in future, through the mercy and blessing of*

one around him, at others, suddenly dissolving into tears;—he would sit and weep for hours together. His amiable partner displayed more fortitude. Her placid and resigned demeanour excited

the upper pannel with their sabres and other implements. At this crisis, Baron Adlercreutz caused the door to be thrown open, and fearlessly rushing into the midst of the crowd, seized a sabre from a hussar, and the staff of office from the adjutant-general, and, holding it up before

*God; and revere the king.* In testimony and confirmation thereof, we have *personally written* and signed the present, and corroborated with our royal seal.

"Gripsholm castle, the 29th of March, in the year of the nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1809.

(Signed) "GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS."

Upon which, Baron Mannerhjelm rose, and in a speech of considerable length, *drew a most affecting picture of the situation to which Sweden was reduced by the* IRRESISTIBLE PASSION OF THE KING FOR WAR,—*renounced all allegiance and obedience to the person and authority of Gustavus the Fourth, and declared him and* HIS ISSUE* *now and for ever, deprived of the crown and government of Sweden.*—The baron, with much firmness and animation, then asked whether this act,—this solemn resolution of his, in which his heart and tongue concurred, met with the approbation of the members composing that august assembly?—Long and reiterated acclamations, and "*Yes! Yes! All! All!*" resounded from all parts of the Ryksal. The baron's resolution was adopted by the constitutional representatives of the Swedish people, *without a single dissentient voice!*

* It is worthy of remark, that in this curious instrument, the king does not compromise the rights of his children; and, perhaps, he mentally referred to them, when he wished the Swedes "*to revere the king.*"

the warmest sympathy in the bosoms of her faithful attendants. It might have been expected that his dethronement and confinement would have taught him duly to appreciate the wise counsels

him, said, in a loud, commanding tone, and with great fierceness of demeanor,—"*I am now adjutant-general, and in that capacity I command the guards instantly to retire!*" After a little hesitation this command was obeyed, and several officers, whose sentiments appeared dubious, were put under arrest. The baron then ascended to the room where the guards usually assembled, there he found a considerable number, who seemed confounded at what had just occurred. The baron assured them that the king's person was not in danger, nor any ill intended, but alone to snatch the kingdom from destruction. He admonished them, in the most solemn and impressive manner, not to attempt any thing which might give rise to bloodshed, and cause the death of the king. Notwithstanding this address, the guards appeared undetermined how to act; and in such circumstances hesitation was most excusable. The baron saw them wavering, when, repeating his affirmations as to the purity of his intentions, the safety of the king, and the folly, as well as danger, of their resisting him, they were induced to refrain from violence and remain tranquil. Proper steps were then adopted to preserve good order in the capital. The armed burghers mounted guard at the bank and public offices; the streets were guarded by patroles of the burgher cavalry and the horse-guards, whose orders were to molest none but those who should break the peace.

Whilst Baron Adlercreutz was thus vigilant in securing the public tranquillity, the unhappy Gustavus entreated to

of his queen, and have filled his bosom with remorse for having slighted her advice. But the perverse, unhappy man, seemed to take a pleasure in having *one person* over whom he could

be spared the mortification of seeing those by whom he had been arrested and disarmed, and whom the baron had left guard over his person. These officers retired, and Counts Ugglas and Stromfelt were sent in to remain with him, and endeavour to reconcile him to his new and melancholy condition. By some means,* *unperceived*, Gustavus had drawn Count Stromfelt's sword from the scabbard, and when the general missed his sword (which Gustavus *carried naked in his hand)*, and entreated to have it returned, the dethroned king exclaimed,—"*You are just as good a general without a sword as I am a king.*" At this moment Baron Adlercreutz had reached the anti-chamber; and being informed of what had happened, he saw the necessity of having some officers in the room as a guard upon him; he therefore appointed two, and was conducting them to the room, when Gustavus, who, through the door that had been broken, saw the baron approach, immediately ran off by the opposite door, that had *been left unguarded*,† which he locked on the outside! The danger which might arise from the king's escape animated the baron to new exertions, who, in an instant, throwing himself against the door, burst it open, and ran in pursuit of the king. In the next room there is a spiral staircase, open all round, which ascends to the floor above. When the baron entered this chamber, he saw the

* Perhaps by Count Ugglas, certainly by connivance.

† It is singular that so important a pass should not have been guarded; this also was most probably the result of connivance.

exercise absolute dominion, and he doubled the bitterness of her fall, by the utter want of delicacy or sympathy that marked his conduct towards her.

king on the uppermost step of the spiral stairs, whom he pursued, and by whom a large bunch of keys* were thrown in the baron's face, and he immediately disappeared. In this important race, the king had so much the advantage of the baron, that when the latter arrived at the top of the spiral stairs the royal fugitive was out of sight. By mere accident he took the same route that Gustavus had taken; and meeting some of the domestics in his way, the baron was directed by them in his pursuit; but he reached the court below without gaining a glimpse of the royal fugitive, who, in the mean time, had been so eager to escape that he fell on the (great stone) stairs, and hurt his arm severely.

The greatest confusion and dismay prevailed amongst the authors of the revolution, when the escape of Gustavus was discovered, and the most terrible consequences were anticipated:—every stair-case was crowded with people descending to intercept his flight. One of the king's *foresters*, named Greiff, was the first who reached the court-yard, or quadrangle, and saw the king, with the drawn sword, making towards the only gate that had been left open. As soon as Greiff arrived within reach of his sword, the king made a violent thrust, but with so unsteady an aim that the sword passed up the sleeve of Greiff's coat, wounding him slightly. His sword being thus entangled, his breath gone, and his strength

* He had probably taken them from the outside of that door, which he had the presence of mind to lock.

After their release and banishment from Sweden, the queen instituted proceedings against her husband, and, in 1810, they were divorced. A brother of the queen met with his death by an

exhausted, Gustavus was easily overpowered. Several persons soon arrived to the assistance of this officer, and the king, either unwilling to walk, or unable to support himself, was, by his own desire, taken into the white room. He was there seated in a chair near the door, and exactly opposite the portrait of the unfortunate queen of France, Marie Antoinette. Exhausted by his exertions, and disordered by indignation and sorrow, the captive king remained sullenly quiet the whole day. Tranquillity was easily maintained in the capital; not even the slightest displeasure was evinced, and the theatre, which was opened as usual, was attended by an audience more than commonly numerous. After the tumult in the palace had subsided, and nothing further was to be apprehended from the endeavours of the king to recover his liberty, Baron Adlercreutz and Colonel Silversparre repaired to the duke of Sodermanland,* representing the helpless state of the kingdom, and entreating him to assume the functions of administrator. The duke was deeply affected with the catastrophe which had driven from the throne the last branch of his family, and, on account of his advanced age and precarious health, he declined an employment which required so much vigor and exertion.† But these delegates

It seems to have been a received opinion that the duke was privy to the plot, and a party in it; both which surmises are probably erroneous.

† It is not unlikely but Gustavus the Third extorted from the duke a solemn oath that he would not oppose the succession of his pseudo son to the throne, nor join in any attempt to dethrone him.

accident that befel him near Arboga, owing to the breaking down of his carriage; and the persecuted queen had not been long in Germany before she was dreadfully maimed: she recovered, and has

represented to him that even should he decline the proffered reins of government, the measures that had been taken could not be recalled; that the most dreadful results might follow the want of a regular government; and that the name and authority of his royal highness were absolutely necessary to give weight and respectability to any negotiations for peace, by which alone it was possible to save the kingdom from ruin. Convinced by these arguments, and overcome by the entreaties of the baron and those who accompanied him, the duke reluctantly complied;* the change of government was immediately proclaimed, and received with acclamations by the people. Perhaps no revolution which intended the destruction of despotism was ever affected with such facility. No tumult ensued, no blood was shed in any part of Sweden, *and it should be considered as a strong proof that the king had personally become an useless member of society, when no pang was felt in the separation.* The orders that had been given for the departure of the troops from Stockholm, and the uncommon circumstance of the gates of the palace remaining shut, awakened suspicion amongst those who were not altogether ignorant of the state of public affairs, that some extraordinary event was about to happen. The delightful weather caused the vicinity of the palace to be crowded with people of the highest rank; but there was not the least disorder; no voice was

* The reasons for rather believing, than otherwise, the accuracy of this statement have already been explained.

continued to live in the utmost seclusion, and in a style scarcely equal to that of a private lady of fortune in Great Britain.

The adventures of the ex-king, in Russia,

heard to express the smallest discontent; and a military force was quite unnecessary for the maintenance of public tranquillity.

Many had been informed of the events that had happened almost immediately they had taken place, who made no secret of the information, which thus became generally diffused; but calms are sometimes the deceitful precursors of fearful hurricanes, and every precaution was adopted which could tend to secure the public peace.

At two o'clock in the morning the late king was conveyed to Drottningholm, attended by Colonel Silversparre and several other officers, and escorted by a detachment of the cuirassier guards. After remaining there a few days, the royal captive was removed to the palace of Gripsholm. The queen and royal children remained for some time at Haga.

Gustavus the Fourth had, on the 29th of March, voluntarily abdicated the throne of Sweden, and on the 10th of May the act of abdication was read to the assembled states. But the resignation of a right that was already forfeited, was looked on as superfluous; and, on the motion of Baron Mannerhjelm the states for ever renounced their allegiance to Gustavus the Fourth Adolphus, and his heirs, and declared them for ever incapable of possessing the Swedish throne. This act was signed by the states and sent to the deposed king at Gripsholm.

He now expressed an ardent desire to be allowed to travel with his family to Germany, and to join a religious society at Christianfeld. But this desire could not be im-

England, and Germany (who, henceforth, is called Count Gottorp), are too well known to possess much interest. One of his most singular projects

mediately gratified. It was first to be considered by the states whether Gustavus could be allowed to live beyond the limits of the Swedish territory, consistent with the *safety* of the kingdom. But matters of more consequence claimed the immediate attention of the states. The advanced age and enfeebled constitution of the new king, gave no promise of a long reign, and the succession to the throne was yet undetermined. It was therefore absolutely necessary to choose a successor. It cannot be supposed such an election could be unanimous: it is well known there were those who exerted themselves to procrastinate, perhaps, to prevent if they could, *any* election being made. But these endeavours were unsuccessful, and the Prince Augustenburg was chosen crown-prince of Sweden. When this great question was decided, the states were at liberty to attend to the deposed king and his family. It was agreed that their removal from Sweden was necessary, and that Switzerland was the most proper place for their residence; but some difference of opinion arose as to the time of removal, although it was generally agreed that a peace should be first re-established, at least with two of the most formidable powers.

Charles the Thirteenth, raised to the throne to which his father had been elected heir, embraced with the warmest sympathy the cause of this fallen and unfortunate family. He entreated the states to assign an honorable support to a prince who had for seventeen years wielded the sceptre of Sweden,* and he endeavoured

* Not quite correct: he was king *seventeen years*, but during the first four Gustavus was a minor, and the Duke Charles governed Sweden as sole regent.

was the pilgrimage he meditated to Jerusalem; relative to which, a gentleman, who was selected to be one of his knights, has furnished the author with the following particulars, viz. Having arrived at Trieste, on his way to Constantinople, he put up at the same hotel where Count Gottorp lodged, who occupied two small rooms, meanly furnished;

to obtain from the Emperor Napoleon permission for Gustavus the Fourth to reside in Switzerland.

The states ordered a valuation to be made of the real and personal property belonging to the deposed king and his family: the whole was found to yield a revenue of about £9000 per annum, and as the committee had determined that £15,000 was required for the *contemplated support of the late king and family, it became necessary for* the country to contribute £6000 of this sum. The pension was divided into shares, one of which was assigned to the king; a second to the queen; and the third to the children, as long as any of them should live.

Gustavus the Fourth resided the whole summer at Gripsholm, and passed the greater part of his time in company with the queen and his children, and was treated in a manner that reflected honor upon the generosity of those by whom he was most deservedly dethroned. Gustavus was often very impatient to leave the kingdom, but this could not be permitted till an answer arrived from the emperor of France; a frigate, in the mean time lay ready at Carlscrona to receive and transport him to Germany. At length permission was received, and the king and queen left Gripsholm on the 6th of December, 1809, and the children some days after. Gustavus the Fourth was confined in Gripsholm castle eight months and eleven days.

that were situated at the end of a passage. The ex-king kept no valet, and was attended by the waiters. He seemed very temperate as to food and wines; was fond of fruits, of which he ate freely. He seldom smiled, and was never seen to laugh: he was easy of access, as any person might obtain an interview by asking it: his manner was affable but not graceful: his language rather diffuse: he seemed much attached to England: used to write much and frequently: his style of living displayed neither taste nor affluence. He had a female with him, whom he had brought from Germany; but she was never seen abroad in company with Count Gottorp, nor was she visited. This female passed as his wife, and was probably married in the half-legitimate way which the Germans call by *der linker hand*. His appearance and manner bespoke a man bowed down by heavy misfortunes: his common dress was a blue coat, white waistcoat, and nankeen pantaloons. He wore neither riband nor star, but was addressed as a prince, by the title of royal highness. He lived very recluse; and if occasionally he saw any of the merchants, it was in the most private manner.

The Asia, a British line-of-battle ship, commanded by Captain Skeen, was at this time at Trieste (August, 1815); this officer invited the ex-king to dine on board, and received him with a royal salute. This mark of respect, which did honor to the British captain as well as to the exiled

king, affected Gustavus so powerfully that he shed tears as he advanced toward Captain Skeen on the quarter deck.

Soon afterwards he applied to Captain Skeen, by letter, requesting a passage to Malta; whose answer was, that he should feel most happy in complying with his royal highness's wish, but that his instructions precluded him from following his inclinations. Gustavus seemed more hurt than offended by this refusal. The gentleman who communicated these particulars translated Captain Skeen's letter, which was written in English. The same person then referred him to the British vice-consul. Count Gottorp had already sent a courier to Constantinople to solicit a firman from the grand signior: during this period he used to consult his maps very frequently.

The '*black knights*,' whom the ex-king wished to join him in this pilgrimage, were intended to act as his couriers, aid-du-camps, and secretaries. They were to precede him, and announce his arrival at every town, or fort, with the strictest etiquette and formality. He intended that they should wear a particular uniform. On the return of the courier, the whole project was defeated, for the firman was found to have been denied without any reason assigned, which put an end to the proposed pilgrimage.

He then purchased a vessel at Trieste, on board of which he shipped two or three of his *black knights*. His lady went on board, and also

her servant; and they sailed from Trieste to Patras in Greece, where, it seems, his *black knights* demanded payment for their services, to which he refused to submit.

From Greece, Count Gottorp returned to Germany, and has now become a free citizen of Basle, in Switzerland; where, it is said, he purposes to pass the remainder of his days in retirement and peace.

Such are the principal incidents that marked the life of this extraordinary prince, who has been far more unfortunate than guilty; and whose vices and virtues, without malice or mercy, have been faithfully delineated in these pages.

FINIS.

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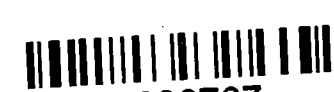
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